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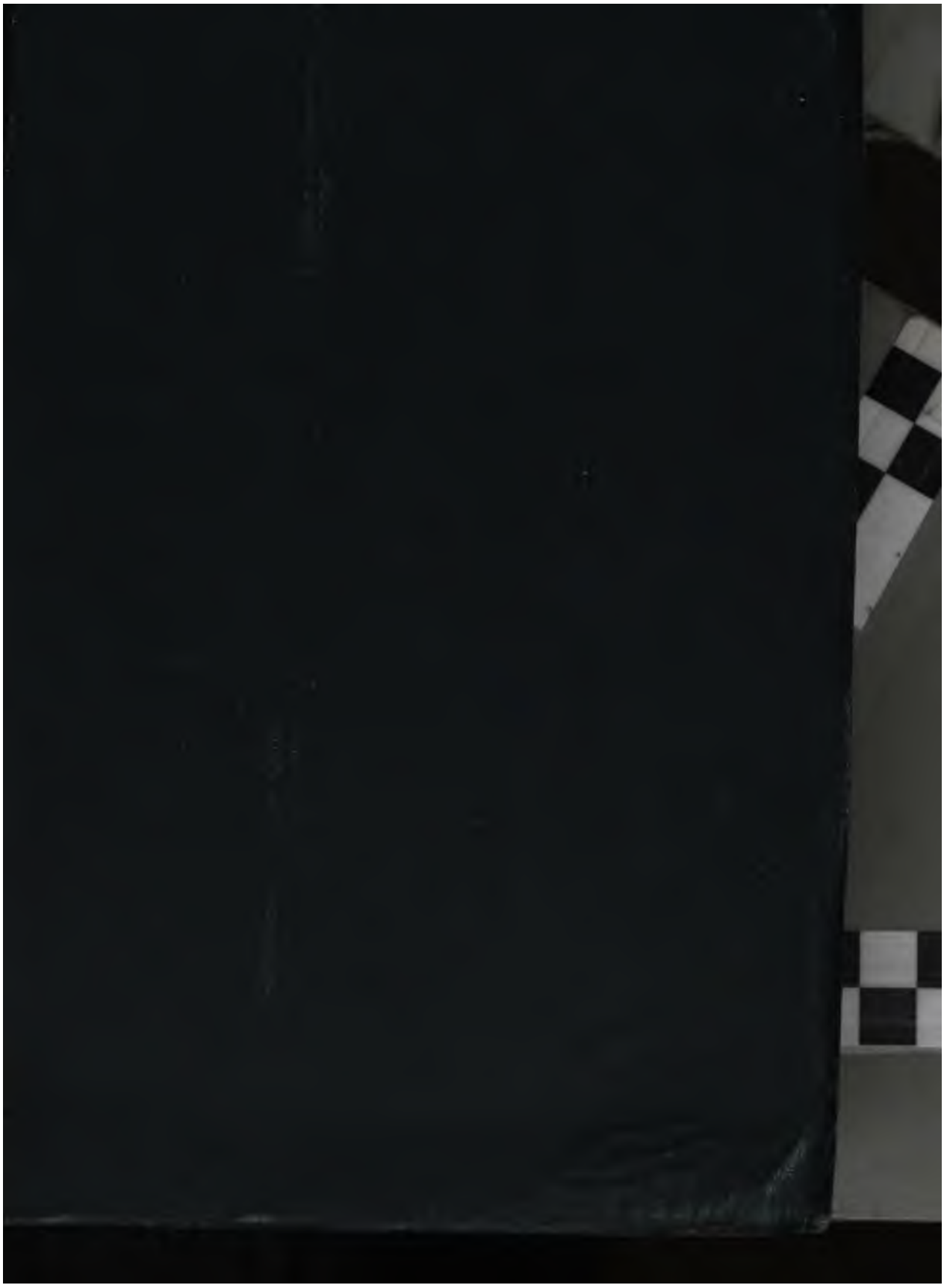

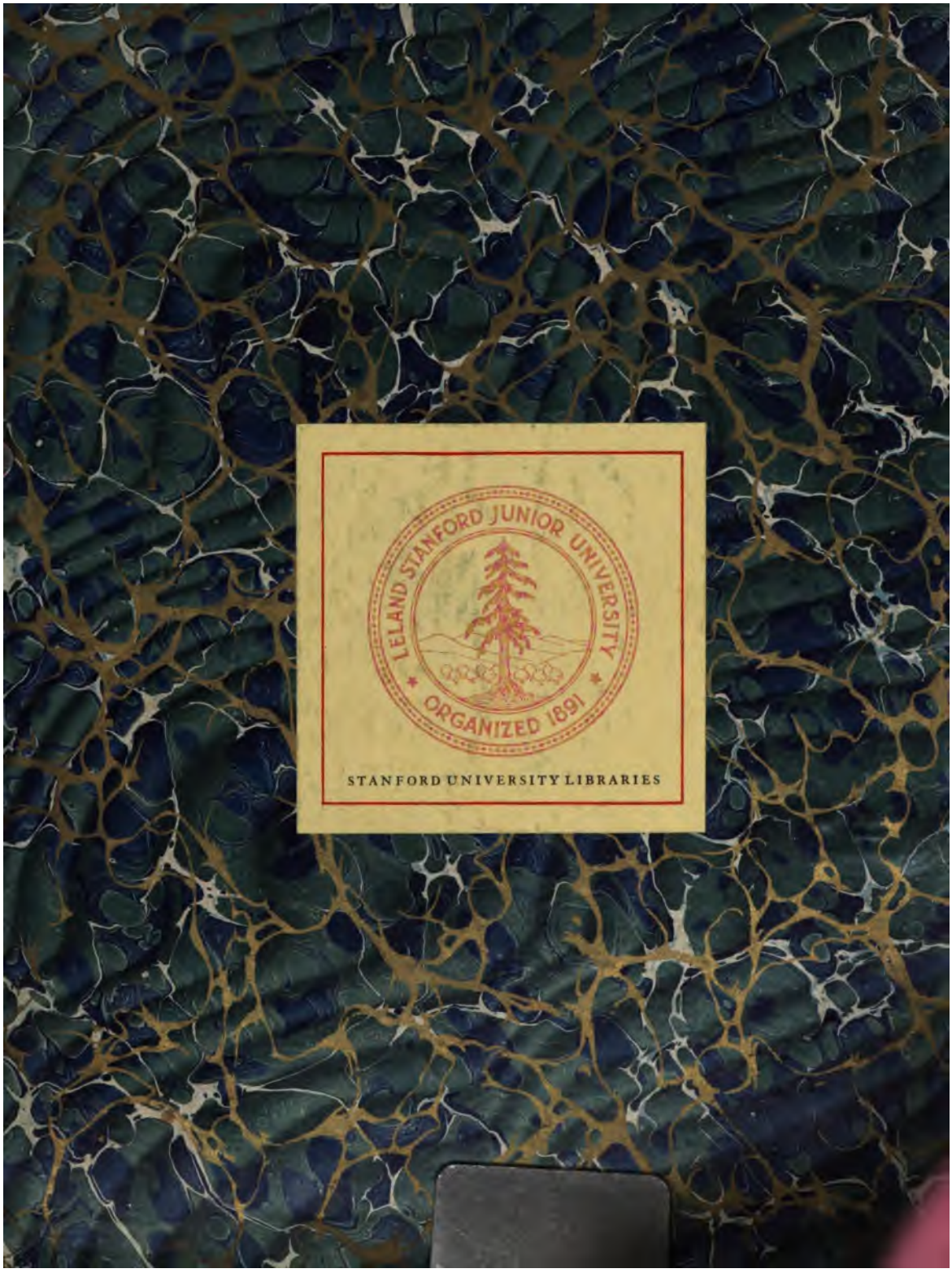
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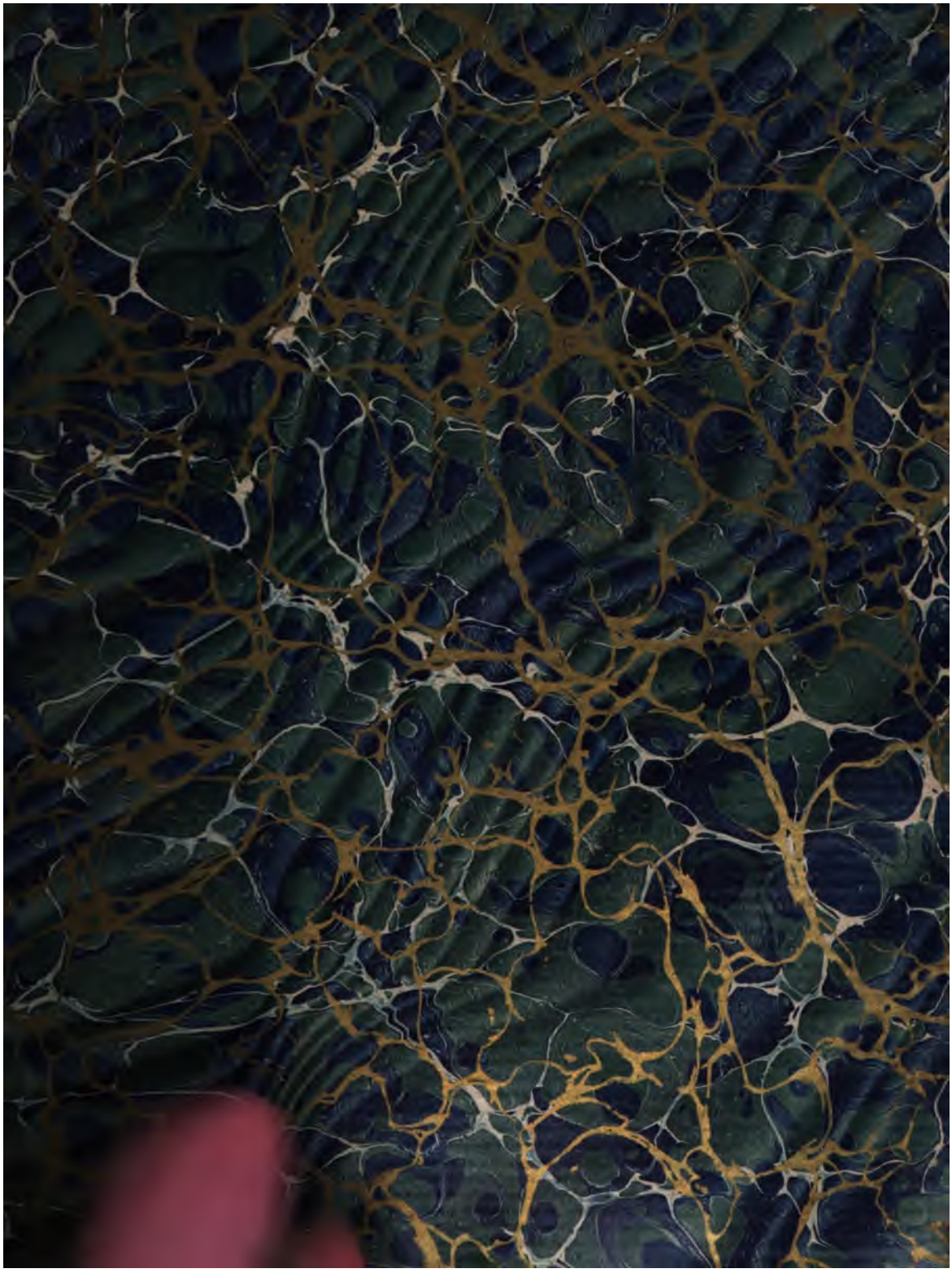

TWO ESSAYS ON THE WORSHIP OF PRIAPUS.

Edition limited to five hundred numbered copies printed from type, twenty-five of which are large paper; three hundred for England, two hundred for America.

No. 253

A

Diſcourſe on the Worſhip of Priapus,

AND ITS CONNECTION WITH THE MYSTIC

THEOLOGY OF THE ANCIENTS.

BY RICHARD PAYNE KNIGHT, ESQ.

(A NEW EDITION).

TO WHICH IS ADDED AN

ESSAY ON THE WORSHIP OF THE GENERATIVE

POWERS DURING THE MIDDLE AGES

OF WESTERN EUROPE.

LONDON:
PRIVATELY PRINTED.
1865.
(Reprinted 1894.)

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PREFACE TO THIS EDITION.

RICHARD PAYNE KNIGHT, one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed patrons of art and learning in England during his time, a ſcholar of great attainments, an eminent antiquarian, member of the Radical party in Parliament, and a writer of great ability, was born at Wormeſley Grange, in Herefordſhire, in 1750. From an early age he devoted himſelf to the ſtudy of ancient literature, antiquities, and mythology. A large portion of his inherited fortune was expended in the collection of antiquities, eſpecially, ancient coins, medals, and bronzes. His collection, which was continued until his death in 1820, was bequeathed to the Britiſh Muſeum, and accepted for that inſtitution by a ſpecial act of Parliament. Its value was eſtimated at £50.000.

Among his works are an *Inquiry into the Principles of Taſte; Analytical Eſſay on the Greek Alphabet; The Symbolical Language of Ancient Art;* and three poems; *The Landſcape, the Progreſs of Civil Society,* and *The Romance of Alfred.*

The *Worſhip of Priapus* was printed in 1786, for diſtribution by the Dilettanti Society, with which body the author was

actively identified. This ſociety embraced in its membership ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed ſcholars in England, among others the Duke of Norfolk, Sir Joſeph Banks, Sir William Hamilton, Sir George Beaumont, the Marquis of Abercorn, Lord Charlemont, Lord Dundas, Horace Walpole, and men of equal prominence.

The bold utterances of Mr. Knight on a ſubject which until that time had been entirely tabooed, or had been treated in a way to hide rather than to diſcover the truth, ſhocked the ſenſibilities of the higher claſſes of Engliſh ſociety, and the miniſters and members of the various denominations of the Chriſtian world. Rather than endure the ſtorm of criticiſm, arouſed by the publication, he ſuppreſſed during his lifetime all the copies of the book he could recall, conſequently it became very ſcarce, and continued ſo for nearly a hundred years.

In 1865 the work was reprinted, with an eſſay added, carrying the inveſtigation further, ſhowing the prevalence during the middle ages of beliefs and practices ſimilar to thoſe deſcribed in Knight's eſſay, only modified by the changed condition of ſociety.

The ſupplementary eſſay is now generally conceded to have been the work of the eminent author and antiquarian, Thomas Wright;[1] aſſiſted by John Camden Hotten, the publiſher of the 1865 edition. In their work they had the benefit of the vaſt additions made during this century to the literature of the ſubject, and of

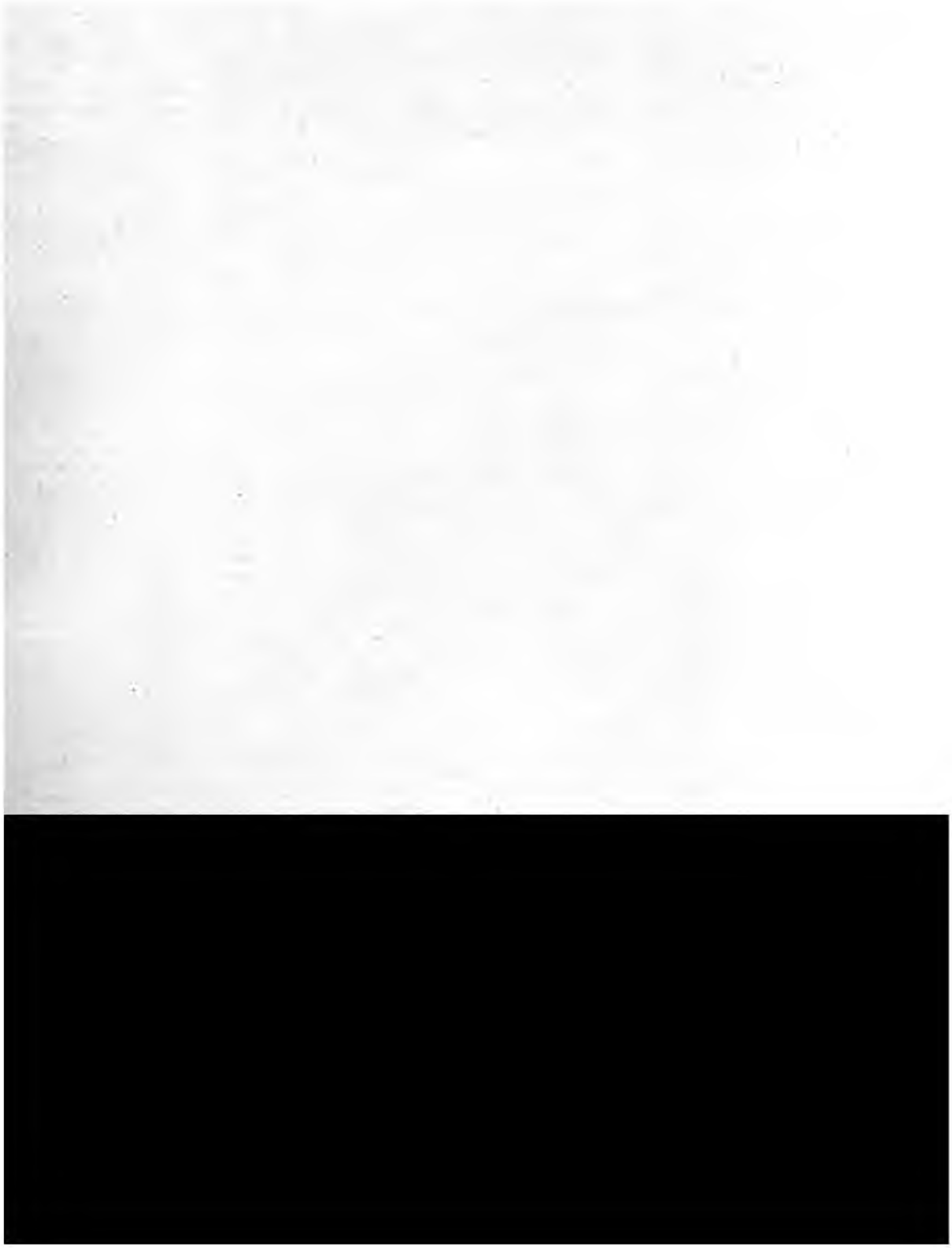
[1] Perhaps no Engliſhman of modern times, or of any time, has intelligently treated ſo many different departments of literary reſearch: Archæology, Art, Bibliography, Chriſtianity, Cuſtoms, Heraldry, Literary Hiſtory, Philology, Topography and Travels, are among the topics illuſtrated by the learning, zeal and induſtry of Mr. Thomas Wright.—S. Austin Allibone.

the diſcoveries of objects of antiquity at Herculaneum and Pompeii, alſo in France, Germany, Belgium, England, Ireland, and in fact in nearly every country in Europe, illuſtrating the ſubject they were inveſtigating.

The numerous illuſtrations are engraved from antique coins, medals, ſtone carvings, etc., preſerved in the Payne Knight collection in the Britiſh Muſeum, and from other objects diſcovered in England and on the continent, ſince the firſt eſſay was written. Theſe are only to be found in muſeums and private collections ſcattered over Europe, and are practically inacceſſible to the ſtudent; they are here engraved and fully deſcribed.

The edition of 1865 was of a limited number of copies, and was ſoon exhauſted. When a copy occaſionally appears in the auction room, or in the hands of a bookſeller, it brings a large advance on the original high publiſhed price. The preſent edition, an exact reproduction of that of 1865, but correcting ſome manifeſt miſprints, is publiſhed in the intereſt of ſcience and ſcholarſhip. At a time when ſo many learned inveſtigators are endeavoring to trace back religious beliefs and practices to their origin, it would ſeem that this is a branch of the ſubject which ſhould not be ignored. The hiſtory of religions has been ſtudied with more zeal and ſucceſs during the nineteenth century, than in all the ages which preceded it, and this book has now an intereſt fifty fold greater than when originally publiſhed.

October, 1894.



PREFACE.

THE following pages are offered ſimply as a contribution to ſcience. The progreſs of human ſociety has, in different ages, preſented abundance of horrors and abundance of vices, which, in treating hiſtory popularly, we are obliged to paſs over gently, and often to conceal; but, nevertheleſs, if we neglect or ſuppreſs theſe facts altogether, we injure the truth of hiſtory itſelf, almoſt in the ſame manner as we ſhould injure a man's health by deſtroying ſome of the nerves or muſcles of his body. The ſuperſtitions which are treated in the two eſſays which form the preſent volume, formed a very important element in the working of the ſocial frame in former ages,—in fact, during a very great part of the exiſtence of man in this world, they have had much influence inwardly and outwardly on the character and ſpirit of ſociety itſelf, and therefore it is neceſſary for the hiſtorian to underſtand them, and a part of the duties of the archæologiſt to inveſtigate them. The Diſſertation by Richard Payne Knight is tolerably well known—

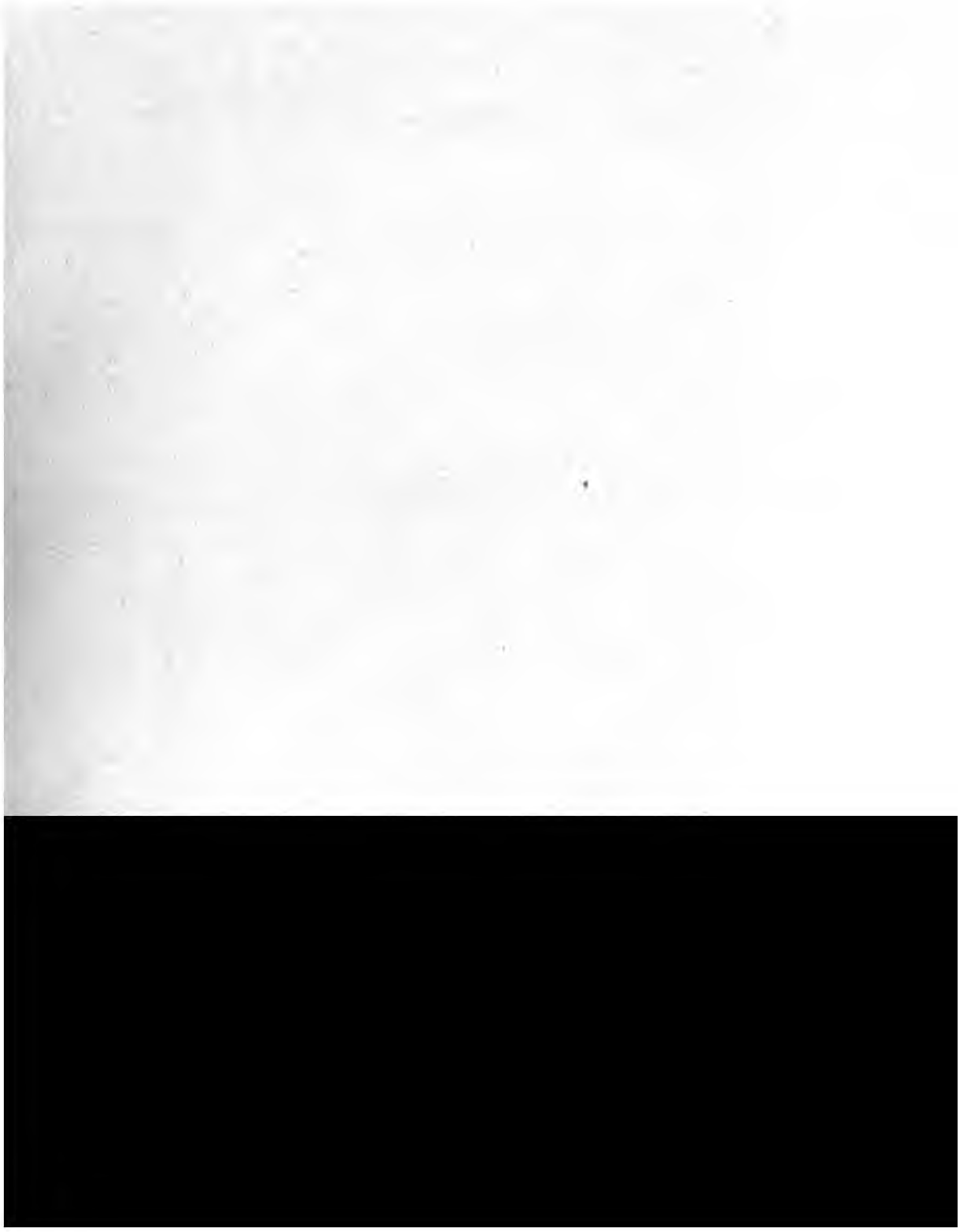
at leaſt by name—to bibliographers and to antiquaries, as a book of very conſiderable learning, and at the ſame time, as one which has become extremely rare, and which, therefore, can only be obtained occaſionally at a very high price. It happened that, in a time when the violence of political feelings ran very high, the author, who was a member of the Houſe of Commons, belonged to the liberal party, and his book was ſpitefully miſrepreſented, with the deſign of injuring his character. We know the unjuſt abuſe which was laviſhed upon him by Mathias, in his now little-read ſatire, the "Purſuits of Literature." Some of the Continental archæologiſts had written on kindred ſubjects long before the time of Payne Knight.

It was thought, therefore, that a new edition of this book, produced in a manner to make it more acceſſible to ſcholars, would not be unacceptable. Payne Knight's deſign was only to inveſtigate the origin and meaning of a once extenſively popular worſhip. The hiſtory of it is, indeed, a wide ſubject, and muſt include all branches of the human race, in a majority of which it is in full force at the preſent day, and even in our own more highly civilized branch it has continued to exiſt to a far more recent period than we might be inclined to ſuppoſe. It is the object of the Eſſay which has been written for the preſent volume—of which it forms more than one half—to inveſtigate the exiſtence of theſe superſtitions among ourſelves, to trace them, in fact, through the middle ages of Weſtern Europe, and their influence on the hiſtory of mediæval and on the formation of modern ſociety, and to place in the hands of hiſtorical ſcholars

ſuch of their monuments as we have been able to collect. It is hoped that, thus compoſed, the preſent volume will prove acceptable to the claſs of readers to whom it ſpecially addreſſes itſelf.

It muſt not be ſuppoſed or expected that this Eſſay on the mediæval part of the ſubject can be perfect. A large majority of the facts and monuments of mediæval phallic worſhip have long periſhed, but many, hitherto unknown, remain ſtill to be collected, and it may be hoped that the preſent Eſſay will lead eventually to much more complete reſearches as to the exiſtence and influence of this worſhip in Weſtern Europe during mediæval times. Notes of ſuch ſuperſtitions are continually turning up unexpectedly; and we may mention as an example, that a copy of Payne Knight's treatiſe now before us contains a marginal note in pencil by a former poſſeſſor, Richard Turner, a collector of curious books formerly reſiding at Grantham in Lincolnſhire, in the following words:—"In 1850, I met with a Zingari, or Gypſy, who had an amulet beautifully carved in ivory, which ſhe wore round her neck; ſhe ſaid it was worth 30*l.*, and ſhe would not part with it on any account. She came from Florence. It was the Lingham and the Yoni united." This is curious as furniſhing apparent evidence of the relationſhip between the gipſies of Weſtern Europe and India.

London, September, 1865.



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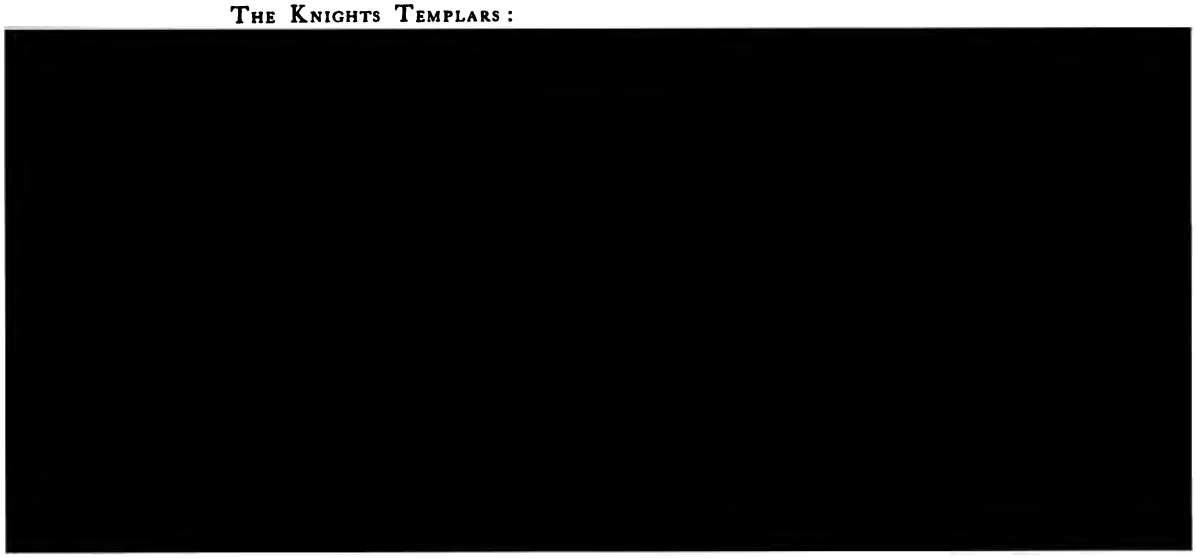

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AN

ACCOUNT OF THE REMAINS

OF THE

WORSHIP

OF

PRIAPUS,

LATELY EXISTING AT

ISERNIA, in the Kingdom of *NAPLES*:

IN TWO LETTERS;

One from Sir WILLIAM HAMILTON, K.B., His Majesty's Minister at the Court of *Naples*, to Sir JOSEPH BANKS, Bart., President of the Royal Society.

And the other from a Person residing at *Isernia*:

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A DISCOURSE ON THE WORSHIP OF PRIAPUS,

And its Connexion with the mystic Theology of the Ancients.

By R. P. KNIGHT, Esq.

LONDON:

Printed by T. SPILSBURY, *Snowhill.*

M.DCC.LXXXVI.

A LETTER FROM SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON, ETC.

SIR, *Naples, Dec.* 30, 1781.

HAVING laſt year made a curious diſcovery, that in a Province of this Kingdom, and not fifty miles from its Capital, a ſort of devotion is ſtill paid to PRIAPUS, the obſcene Divinity of the Ancients (though under another denomination), I thought it a circumſtance worth recording; particularly, as it offers a freſh proof of the ſimilitude of the Popiſh and Pagan Religion, ſo well obſerved by Dr. Middleton, in his celebrated Letter from Rome: and therefore I mean to depoſit the authentic[1] proofs of this aſſertion in the Britiſh Muſeum, when a proper opportunity ſhall offer. In the mean time I ſend you the following account, which, I flatter myſelf, will amuſe you for the preſent, and may in future ſerve to illuſtrate thoſe proofs.

I had long ago diſcovered, that the women and children of the lower claſs, at Naples, and in its neighbourhood, frequently wore,

---

[1] A ſpecimen of each of the *ex-voti* of wax, with the original letter from Iſernia. See the Ex-voti, Plate 1.

as an ornament of dreſs, a ſort of Amulets, (which they imagine to be a preſervative from the *mal occhii*, *evil eyes*, or enchantment) exactly ſimilar to thoſe which were worn by the ancient Inhabitants of this Country for the very ſame purpoſe, as likewiſe for their ſuppoſed invigorating influence; and all of which have evidently a relation to the Cult of Priapus. Struck with this conformity in ancient and modern ſuperſtition, I made a collection of both the ancient and modern Amulets of this ſort, and placed them together in the Britiſh Muſeum, where they remain. The modern Amulet moſt in vogue repreſents a hand clinched, with the point of the thumb thruſt betwixt the index and middle[1] finger; the next is a ſhell; and the third is a half-moon. Theſe Amulets (except the ſhell, which is uſually worn in its natural ſtate) are moſt commonly made of ſilver, but ſometimes of ivory, coral, amber, cryſtal, or ſome curious gem, or pebble. We have a proof of the hand above deſcribed having a connection with Priapus, in a moſt elegant ſmall idol of bronze of that Divinity, now in the Royal Muſeum of Portici, and which was found in the ruins of Herculaneum: it has an enormous Phallus, and, with an arch look and geſture, ſtretches out its right hand in the form above mentioned;[2] and which probably was an emblem of conſummation: and as a further proof of it, the Amulet which occurs moſt frequently amongſt thoſe of the Ancients (next to that which repreſents the ſimple Priapus), is ſuch a hand united with the Phallus; of which you may ſee ſeveral ſpecimens in my collection in the Britiſh Muſeum. One in particular, I recollect, has alſo the half-moon joined to the hand and Phallus; which half-moon is ſuppoſed to have an alluſion to the female *menſes*. The ſhell, or *concha veneris*,

---

[1] See Plate II., Fig. i.

[2] This elegant little figure is engraved in the firſt volume of the Bronzes of the Herculaneum.

is evidently an emblem of the female part of generation. It is very natural then to ſuppoſe, that the Amulets repreſenting the Phallus alone, ſo viſibly indecent, may have been long out of uſe in this civilized capital; but I have been aſſured, that it is but very lately that the Prieſts have put an end to the wearing of ſuch Amulets in Calabria, and other diſtant Provinces of this Kingdom.

A new road having been made laſt year from this Capital to the Province of Abruzzo, paſſing through the City of Iſernia (anciently belonging to the Samnites, and very populous[1]), a perſon of liberal education, employed in that work, chanced to be at Iſernia juſt at the time of the celebration of the Feaſt of the modern Priapus, St. Coſmo; and having been ſtruck with the ſingularity of the ceremony, ſo very ſimilar to that which attended the ancient Cult of the God of the Gardens, and knowing my taſte for antiquities, told me of it. From this Gentleman's report, and from what I learnt on the ſpot from the Governor of Iſernia himſelf, having gone to that city on purpoſe in the month of February laſt, I have drawn up the following account, which I have reaſon to believe is ſtrictly true. I did intend to have been preſent at the Feaſt of St. Coſmo this year; but the indecency of this ceremony having probably tranſpired, from the country's having been more frequented ſince the new road was made, orders have been given, that the *Great Toe*[2] of the Saint ſhould no longer be expoſed. The following is the account of the Fête of St. Coſmo and Damiano, as it actually was celebrated at Iſernia, on the confines of Abruzzo, in the Kingdom of Naples, ſo late as in the year of our Lord 1780.

On the 27th of September, at Iſernia, one of the moſt ancient

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[1] The actual population of Iſernia, according to the Governor's account, is 5156.

[2] See the Italian letter, printed at the end of this, from which it appears the modern Priapi were ſo called at Iſernia.

cities of the Kingdom of Naples, ſituated in the Province called the Contado di Moliſe, and adjoining to Abruzzo, an annual Fair is held, which laſts three days. The ſituation of this Fair is on a riſing ground, between two rivers, about half a mile from the town of Iſernia; on the moſt elevated part of which there is an ancient church, with a veſtibule. The architecture is of the ſtyle of the lower ages; and it is ſaid to have been a church and convent belonging to the Benedictine Monks in the time of their poverty. This church is dedicated to St. Coſmus and Damianus. One of the days of the Fair, the relicks of the Saints are expoſed, and afterwards carried in proceſſion from the cathedral of the city to this church, attended by a prodigious concourſe of people. In the city, and at the fair, *ex-voti* of wax, repreſenting the male parts of generation, of various dimenſions, ſome even of the length of a palm, are publickly offered to ſale. There are alſo waxen vows, that repreſent other parts of the body mixed with them; but of theſe there are few in compariſon of the number of the Priapi. The devout diſtributers of theſe vows carry a baſket full of them in one hand, and hold a plate in the other to receive the money, crying aloud, "St. Coſmo and Damiano!" If you aſk the price of one, the anſwer is, *più ci metti, più meriti:* "The more you give, the more's the merit." In the veſtibule are two tables, at each of which one of the canons of the church preſides, this crying out, *Qui ſi riceveno le Miſſe, e Litanie:* "Here Maſſes and Litanies are received;" and the other, *Qui ſi riceveno li Voti:* "Here the Vows are received." The price of a Maſs is fifteen Neapolitan grains, and of a Litany five grains. On each table is a large baſon for the reception of the different offerings. The Vows are chiefly preſented by the female ſex; and they are ſeldom ſuch as repreſent legs, arms, &c., but moſt commonly the male parts of generation. The perſon who was at this fête in the year 1780, and who gave me this account (the authenticity of every article of which has ſince

been fully confirmed to me by the Governor of Iſernia), told me alſo, that he heard a woman ſay, at the time ſhe preſented a Vow, like that which is preſented in Plate 1. Fig. i., *Santo Coſimo benedetto, coſi lo voglio:* "Bleſſed St. Coſmo, let it be like this;" another, *St. Coſimo, a te mi raccommendo:* "St. Coſmo, I recommend myſelf to you;" and a third, *St. Coſimo, ti ringrazio:* "St. Coſmo, I thank you." The Vow is never preſented without being accompanied by a piece of money, and is always kiſſed by the devotee at the moment of preſentation.

At the great altar in the church, another of its canons attends to give the holy unction, with the oil of St. Coſmo;[1] which is prepared by the ſame receipt as that of the Roman Ritual, with the addition only of the prayer of the Holy Martyrs, St. Coſmus and Damianus. Thoſe who have an infirmity in any of their members, preſent themſelves at the great altar, and uncover the member affected (not even excepting that which is moſt frequently repreſented by the *ex-voti*); and the reverend canon anoints it, ſaying, *Per interceſſionem beati Coſmi, liberet te ab omni malo. Amen.*

The ceremony finiſhes by the canons of the church dividing the ſpoils, both money and wax, which muſt be to a very conſiderable amount, as the concourſe at this fête is ſaid to be prodigiouſly numerous.

The oil of St. Coſmo is in high repute for its invigorating quality, when the loins, and parts adjacent, are anointed with it. No leſs than 1400 flaſks of that oil were either expended at the altar in unctions, or charitably diſtributed, during this fête in the year 1780; and as it is uſual for every one, who either makes uſe

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[1] The cure of diſeaſes by oil is likewiſe of ancient date; for Tertullian tells us, that a Chriſtian, called Proculus, cured the Emperor Severus of a certain diſtemper by the uſe of oil; for which ſervice the Emperor kept Proculus, as long as he lived, in his palace.

of the oil at the altar, or carries off a flaſk of it, to leave an alms for St. Coſmo, the ceremony of the oil becomes likewiſe a very lucrative one to the canons of the church.

I am, Sir,
With great truth and regard,
Your moſt obedient humble Servant,
WILLIAM HAMILTON.

LETTERA DA ISERNIA,

Nell' Anno, 1780.

IN Iſernia Città Sannitica, oggi della Provincia del Contado di Moliſe, ogni Anno li 27 Settembre vi è una Fiera della claſſe delle perdonanze (coſi dette negl' Abruzzi li gran mercati, e fiere non di liſta): Queſta fiera ſi fa ſopra d'una Collinetta, che ſtà in mezzo a due fiumi; diſtante mezzo miglio da Iſernia, dove nella parte piu elevata vi è un antica Chieſa con un veſtibulo, architettura de' baſſi tempi, e che ſi dice eſſer ſtata Chieſa, e Moniſtero de P. P. Benedettini, quando erano poveri? La Chieſa è dedicata ai Santi Cosmo e Damiano, ed è Grancia del Reverendiſſimo Capitolo. La Fiera è di 50 baracche a fabrica, ed i Canonici affittano le baracche, alcune 10, altre 15, al piu 20, carlini l'una; affittano ancora per tre giorni l' oſteria fatta di fabbrica docati 20 ed i comeſtibili ſolo benedetti. Vi è un Eremita della ſteſſa umanità del fù F. Gland guardiano del Monte Veſuvio, cittato con riſpetto dall' Ab. Richard. La fiera dura tre giorni. Il Maeſtro di fiera è il Capitolo, ma commette al Governatore Regio; e queſta alza bandiera con l'impreſa della Citta, che è la ſteſſa impreſa de P. P. Celeſtini. Si fa una Proceſſione con le Reliquie dei Santi, ed eſce dalla Cattedrale, e và alla Chieſa ſudetta; ma è poco devota. Il giorno della feſta, sì per la Città, come nella collinetta vi è un gran concorſo d'Abitatori

del Moteſe, Mainarde, ed altri Monti vicini, che la ſtranezza delli veſtimenti delle Donne, ſembra, a chi non ha gl' occhi avvezzi avederle, il pui bel ridotto di maſcherate. Le Donne della Terra del Gallo ſono vere figlie dell' Ordine Serafico Cappuccino, veſtendo come li Zoccolanti in materia, e forma. Puelle di Scanno Sembrano Greche di Scio. Puelle di Carovilli Armene. Puelle delle Peſche, e Carpinone tengono ſul capo alcuni panni roſſi con ricamo di filo bianco, diſegno ſul guſto Etruſco, che a pochi paſſi ſembra merletto d'Inghilterra. Vi è fra queſte Donne vera belezza, e diverſità grande nel veſtire, anche fra due popolazioni viciniſſime, ed un attaccamento particolare di certe popolazioni ad un colore, ed altre ad altro. L' abito è diſtinto nelle Zitelle, Maritate, Vedove, è Donne di piacere?

Nella fiera ed in Città vi ſono molti divoti, che vendono membri virili di cera di diverſe forme, e di tutte le grandezze, fino ad un palmo; e miſchiate vi ſono ancora gambe, braccia, e faccie; ma poche ſono queſte. Quei li vendono tengono un ceſto, ed un piatto; li membri rotti ſono nel ceſto, ed il piatto ſerve per raccogliere il danaro d'elemoſina. Gridano S. Cosmo e Damiano. Chi é ſprattico domanda, quanto un vale? Riſpondono *più ci metti, più meriti.* Avanti la Chieſa nel veſtibolo del Tempio vi ſono due tavole, ciaſcuna con ſedia, dove preſiede un Canonico, e ſuol' eſſere uno il Primicerio, e l'altro Arciprete; grida uno *qui ſi ricevono le Meſſe, e Litanie:* l'altro, *qui ſi ricevono li voti;* ſopra delle tavole in ogn' una vi è un bacile, che ſerve per raccogliere li membri di cera, che mai ſi preſentano ſoli, ma con denaro, come ſi è pratticato ſempre in tutte le preſentazioni di membri, ad eccezzione di quelli dell' Iſola di Ottaiti. Queſta divozione è tutta quaſi delle Donne, e ſono pochiſſimi quelli, o quelle che preſentano gambe, e braccia, mentre tutta la gran feſta s' aggira a profitto de membri della generazione. Io ho inteſo dire ad una donna. *Santo Coſimo benedetto, coſì lo voglio.* Altre dicevano, *Santo Coſimo a te mi raccommando:*

altre, *Santo Coſimo ringrazio;* e queſto è quello oſſervai, e ſi prattica nel veſtibulo, baciando ogn 'una il voto che preſente.

Dentro la chieſa nell' altare maggiore un canonico fa le ſante unzioni con l' olio di S. Coſimo. La ricetta di queſt' olio è la ſteſſa del Rituale Romano, con l' aggiunta dell' orazione delli SS. Martiri, Coſimo e Damiano. Si preſentano all' Altare gl' Infermi d' ogni male, ſnudano la parte offeſa, anche l' originale della copia di cera, ed il Canonico ungendoli dice, *Per interceſſionem beati Coſmi, liberet te ab omni malo. Amen.*

Finiſce la feſta con dividerſi li Canonici la cera, ed il denaro, e con ritornar gravide molte Donne ſterili maritate, a profitto della popolazione delle Provincie; e ſpeſſo la grazia s' entende ſenza meraviglia, alle Zitelle, e Vedove, che per due notti hanno dormito, alcune nella Chieſa de' P. P. Zoccolanti, ed altre delli Capuccini, non eſſendoci in Iſernia Caſe locande per alloggiare tutto il numero di gente, che concorre: onde li Frati, ajutando ai Preti, danno le Chieſe alle Donne, ed i Portici agl' Uomini; e coſi Diviſi ſuccedendo gravidanze non deve dubitar sì, che ſi a opera tutta miracoloſa, e di divozione.

Nota I.

L' olio non ſolo ſerve per l' unzione che fà il Canonico, ma anche ſi diſpenſa in piccioliſſime caraffine, e ſerve per ungerſi li lombo a chi ha male a queſta parte. In queſt' anno 1780. ſi ſono date par divozione 1400 caraffine, e ſi è conſumato mezzo Stajo d' olio. Chi prende una caraffina da l' olemoſina.

Nota II.

Li Canonici che ſiedono nel Veſtibulo prendono denaro d' Elemoſina per Meſſe, e per Litanie. Le Meſſea grana 15. e le Litanie a grana 5.

NOTA III.

Li foreſtieri alloggiano non ſolo frà li Cappuccini e Zoccolanti, ma anche nell' Eramo di S. Coſmo. Le Donne che dormono nelle chieſe de' P. P. Sudetti ſono guardate dalli Guardiani, Vicarj e Padri piu di merito, e quelli dell' Eremo ſono in cura dell' Eremita, diviſe anche dai Proprj Mariti, e ſi fanno ſpeſſo miracoli ſenza incomodo delli ſanti.

Le non le guſta, quando l' avrà letta
Tornerà bene farne una baldoria :
Che le daranno almen qualche diletto
Le Monachine quando vanno a letto.

ON THE WORSHIP OF PRIAPUS.

MEN, conſidered collectively, are at all times the ſame animals, employing the ſame organs, and endowed with the ſame faculties: their paſſions, prejudices, and conceptions, will of courſe be formed upon the ſame internal principles, although directed to various ends, and modified in various ways, by the variety of external circumſtances operating upon them. Education and ſcience may correct, reſtrain, and extend; but neither can annihilate or create: they may turn and embelliſh the currents; but can neither ſtop nor enlarge the ſprings, which, continuing to flow with a perpetual and equal tide, return to their ancient channels, when the cauſes that perverted them are withdrawn.

The firſt principles of the human mind will be more directly brought into action, in proportion to the earneſtneſs and affection with which it contemplates its object; and paſſion and prejudice will acquire dominion over it, in proportion as its firſt principles are more directly brought into action. On all common ſubjects, this dominion of paſſion and prejudice is reſtrained by the evidence of ſenſe and perception; but, when the mind is led to the contemplation of things beyond its comprehenſion, all ſuch reſtraints vaniſh: reaſon has then

nothing to oppoſe to the phantoms of imagination, which acquire terrors from their obſcurity, and dictate uncontrolled, becauſe unknown. Such is the caſe in all religious ſubjects, which, being beyond the reach of ſenſe or reaſon, are always embraced or rejected with violence and heat. Men think they know, becauſe they are ſure they feel; and are firmly convinced, becauſe ſtrongly agitated. Hence proceed that haſte and violence with which devout perſons of all religions condemn the rites and doctrines of others, and the furious zeal and bigotry with which they maintain their own; while perhaps, if both were equally well underſtood, both would be found to have the ſame meaning, and only to differ in the modes of conveying it.

Of all the profane rites which belonged to the ancient polytheiſm, none were more furiouſly inveighed againſt by the zealous propagators of the Chriſtian faith, than the obſcene ceremonies performed in the worſhip of Priapus; which appeared not only contrary to the gravity and ſanctity of religion, but ſubverſive of the firſt principles of decency and good order in ſociety. Even the form itſelf, under which the god was repreſented, appeared to them a mockery of all piety and devotion, and more fit to be placed in a brothel than a temple. But the forms and ceremonials of a religion are not always to be underſtood in their direct and obvious ſenſe; but are to be conſidered as ſymbolical repreſentations of ſome hidden meaning, which may be extremely wiſe and juſt, though the ſymbols themſelves, to thoſe who know not their true ſignification, may appear in the higheſt degree abſurd and extravagant. It has often happened, that avarice and ſuperſtition have continued theſe ſymbolical repreſentations for ages after their original meaning has been loſt and forgotten; when they muſt of courſe appear nonſenſical and ridiculous, if not impious and extravagant.

Such is the caſe with the rite now under conſideration, than which

nothing can be more monſtrous and indecent, if conſidered in its plain and obvious meaning, or as a part of the Chriſtian worſhip; but which will be found to be a very natural ſymbol of a very natural and philoſophical ſyſtem of religion, if conſidered according to its original uſe and intention.

What this was, I ſhall endeavour in the following ſheets to explain as conciſely and clearly as poſſible. Thoſe who wiſh to know how generally the ſymbol, and the religion which it repreſented, once prevailed, will conſult the great and elaborate work of Mr. D'Hancarville, who, with infinite learning and ingenuity, has traced its progreſs over the whole earth. My endeavour will be merely to ſhow, from what original principles in the human mind it was firſt adopted, and how it was connected with the ancient theology: matters of very curious inquiry, which will ſerve, better perhaps than any others, to illuſtrate that truth, which ought to be preſent in every man's mind when he judges of the actions of others, *that in morals, as well as phyſics, there is no effect without an adequate cauſe.* If in doing this, I frequently find it neceſſary to differ in opinion with the learned author above-mentioned, it will be always with the utmoſt deference and reſpect; as it is to him that we are indebted for the only reaſonable method of explaining the emblematical works of the ancient artiſts.

Whatever the Greeks and Egyptians meant by the ſymbol in queſtion, it was certainly nothing ludicrous or licentious; of which we need no other proof, than its having been carried in ſolemn proceſſion at the celebration of thoſe myſteries in which the firſt principles of their religion, the knowledge of the God of Nature, the Firſt, the Supreme, the Intellectual,[1] were preſerved free from the vulgar ſuperſtitions, and communicated, under the ſtricteſt oaths of

[1] Plut. *de Is. et Os.*

ſecrecy, to the iniated (initiated); who were obliged to purify themſelves, prior to their initiation, by abſtaining from venery, and all impure food.[1] We may therefore be aſſured, that no impure meaning could be conveyed by this ſymbol; but that it repreſented ſome fundamental principle of their faith. What this was, it is difficult to obtain any direct information, on account of the ſecrecy under which this part of their religion was guarded. Plutarch tells us, that the Egyptians repreſented Oſiris with the organ of generation erect, to ſhow his generative and prolific power: he alſo tells us, that Oſiris was the same Deity as the Bacchus of the Greek Mythology; who was alſo the ſame as the firſt begotten Love (Ερως πρωτογονος) of Orpheus and Heſiod.[2] This deity is celebrated by the ancient poets as the creator of all things, the father of gods and men;[3] and it appears, by the paſſage above referred to, that the organ of generation was the ſymbol of his great characteriſtic attribute. This is perfectly conſiſtent with the general practice of the Greek artiſts, who (as will be made appear hereafter) uniformly repreſented the attributes of the deity by the correſponding properties obſerved in the objects of ſight. They thus perſonified the epithets and titles applied to him in the hymns and litanies, and conveyed their ideas of him by forms, only intelligible to the initiated, inſtead of ſounds, which were intelligible to all. The organ of generation repreſented the generative or creative attribute, and in the language of painting and ſculpture, ſignified the ſame as the epithet παγγενετωρ, in the Orphic litanies.

This interpretation will perhaps ſurpriſe thoſe who have not been accuſtomed to diveſt their minds of the prejudices of education and faſhion; but I doubt not, but it will appear juſt and reaſonable to thoſe who conſider manners and cuſtoms as relative to the natural

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[1] Plut. *de Is. et Os.* [2] Ibid. [3] Orph. *Argon.* 422.

cauſes which produced them, rather than to the artificial opinions and prejudices of any particular age or country. There is naturally no impurity or licentiouſneſs in the moderate and regular gratification of any natural appetite; the turpitude conſiſting wholly in the exceſs or perverſion. Neither are organs of one ſpecies of enjoyment naturally to be conſidered as ſubjects of ſhame and concealment more than thoſe of another; every refinement of modern manners on this head being derived from acquired habit, not from nature: habit, indeed, long eſtabliſhed; for it ſeems to have been as general in Homer's days as at preſent; but which certainly did not exiſt when the myſtic ſymbols of the ancient worſhip were firſt adopted. As theſe ſymbols were intended to expreſs abſtract ideas by objects of ſight, the contrivers of them naturally ſelected thoſe objects whoſe characteriſtic properties ſeemed to have the greateſt analogy with the Divine attributes which they wiſhed to repreſent. In an age, therefore, when no prejudices of artificial decency exiſted, what more juſt and natural image could they find, by which to expreſs their idea of the beneficent power of the great Creator, than that organ which endowed them with the power of procreation, and made them partakers, not only of the felicity of the Deity, but of his great characteriſtic attribute, that of multiplying his own image, communicating his bleſſings, and extending them to generations yet unborn?

In the ancient theology of Greece, preſerved in the Orphic Fragments, this Deity, the Ερως πρωτογονος, or firſt-begotten Love, is ſaid to have been produced, together with Æther, by Time, or Eternity (Κρονος), and Neceſſity (Αναγχη), operating upon inert matter (Χαος). He is deſcribed as eternally begetting (αειγνητης); the Father of Night, called in later times, the lucid or ſplendid, (φανης), becauſe he firſt appeared in ſplendour; of a double nature, (διφυης), as poſſeſſing the general power of creation

and generation, both active and paſſive, both male and female.[1] Light is his neceſſary and primary attribute, co-eternal with him-

[1]Orph. *Argon.*, ver. 12. This poem of the Argonautic Expedition is not of the ancient Orpheus, but written in his name by ſome poet poſterior to Homer; as appears by the alluſion to Orpheuſ's deſcent into hell; a fable invented after the Homeric times. It is, however, of very great antiquity, as both the ſtyle and manner ſufficiently prove; and, I think, cannot be later than the age of Piſiſtratus, to which it has been generally attributed. The paſſage here referred to is cited from another poem, which, at the time this was written, paſſed for a genuine work of the Thracian bard: whether juſtly or not, matters little; for its being thought ſo at that time proves it to be of the remoteſt antiquity. The other Orphic poems cited in this diſcourſe are the Hymns, or Litanies, which are attributed by the early Chriſtian and later Platonic writers to Onomacritus, a poet of the age of Piſiſtratus; but which are probably of various authors (See Brucker. *Hiſt. Crit. Philos.*, vol. i., part 2, lib. i., c. i.) They contain, however, nothing which proves them to be later than the Trojan times; and if Onomacritus, or any later author, had anything to do with them, it ſeems to have been only in new-verſifying them, and changing the dialect (See Geſner. *Proleg. Orphica*, p. 26). Had he forged them, and attempted to impoſe them upon the world, as the genuine compoſitions of an ancient bard, there can be no doubt but that he would have ſtuffed them with antiquated words and obſolete phraſes; which is by no means the caſe, the language being pure and worthy the age of Piſiſtratus. Theſe poems are not properly hymns, for the hymns of the Greeks contained the nativities and actions of the gods, like thoſe of Homer and Callimachus; but theſe are compoſitions of a different kind, and are properly invocations or prayers uſed in the Orphic myſteries, and ſeem nearly of the ſame claſs as the Pſalms of the Hebrews. The reaſon why they are ſo ſeldom mentioned by any of the early writers, and ſo perpetually referred to by the later, is that they belonged to the myſtic worſhip, where everything was kept concealed under the ſtricteſt oaths of ſecreſy. But after the riſe of Chriſtianity, this ſacred ſilence was broken by the Greek converts, who revealed everything which they thought would depreciate the old religion or recommend the new; whilſt the heathen prieſts revealed whatever they thought would have contrary tendency; and endeavoured to ſhow, by publiſhing the real myſtic creed of their religion, that the principles of it were not ſo abſurd as its outward ſtructure ſeemed to infer; but that, when ſtripped of poetical allegory and vulgar fable, their theology was pure, reaſonable, and ſublime (Geſner. *Proleg. Orphica*). The collection of theſe poems now extant, being probably compiled and verſified by ſeveral hands, with ſome forged, and others interpolated and altered, muſt be read with great caution; more eſpecially the Fragments

ſelf, and with him brought forth from inert matter by neceſſity. Hence the purity and ſanctity always attributed to light by the

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preſerved by the Fathers of the Church and Ammonian Platonics ; for theſe writers made no ſcruple of forging any monuments of antiquity which ſuited their purpoſes ; particularly the former, who, in addition to their natural zeal, having the intereſts or a confederate body to ſupport, thought every means by which they could benefit that body, by extending the lights of revelation, and gaining proſelytes to the true faith, not only allowable, but meritorious (See Clementina, Hom. vii., ſec. 10. Recogn. lib. i., ſec. 65. Origen. *apud Hieronom. Apolog.* i., *contra Ruf.* et Chryſoſtom. *de Sacerdot.*, lib. i. Chryſoſtom, in particular, not only juſtifies, but warmly commends, any frauds that can be practiſed for the advantage of the Church of Chriſt). Pauſanias ſays (lib. ix.), that the Hymns of Orpheus were few and ſhort; but next in poetical merit to thoſe of Homer, and ſuperior to them in ſanctity (*θεολογικωτεροι*). Theſe are probably the ſame as the genuine part of the collection now extant; but they are ſo intermixed, that it is difficult to ſay which are genuine and which are not. Perhaps there is no ſurer rule for judging than to compare the epithets and allegories with the ſymbols and monograms on the Greek medals, and to make their agreement the teſt of authenticity. The medals were the public acts and records of the State, made under the direction of the magiſtrates, who were generally initiated into the myſteries. We may therefore be aſſured, that whatever theological and mythological alluſions are found upon them were part of the ancient religion of Greece. It is from theſe that many of the Orphic Hymns and Fragments are proved to contain the pure theology or myſtic faith of the ancients, which is called Orphic by Pauſanias (lib. i., c. 39), and which is ſo unlike the vulgar religion, or poetical mythology, that one can ſcarcely imagine at firſt ſight that it belonged to the ſame people; but which will nevertheleſs appear, upon accurate inveſtigation, to be the ſource from whence it flowed, and the cauſe of all its extravagance.

The hiſtory of Orpheus himſelf is ſo confuſed and obſcured by fable, that it is impoſſible to obtain any certain information concerning him. According to general tradition, he was a Thracian, and introduced the myſteries, in which a more pure ſyſtem of religion was taught, into Greece (Brucker, vol. i., part 2, lib. i., c. i.) He is alſo ſaid to have travelled into Egypt (Diodor. Sic. lib. i., p. 80); but as the Egyptians pretended that all foreigners received their ſciences from them, at a time when all foreigners who entered the country were put to death or enſlaved (Diodor. Sic. lib. i., pp. 78 et 107), this account may be rejected, with many others of the ſame kind. The Egyptians certainly could not have taught Orpheus the plurality of worlds, and true ſolar ſyſtem, which appear to have been the fundamental principles of his philoſophy and religion (Plutarch. *de Placit. Philos.*, lib. ii., c. 13.

Greeks.[1] He is called the Father of Night, becauſe by attracting the light to himſelf, and becoming the fountain which diſtributed it to the world, he produced night, which is called eternally-begotten, becauſe it had eternally exiſted, although mixed and loſt in the general maſs. He is ſaid to pervade the world with the motion of his wings, bringing pure light; and thence to be called the ſplendid, the ruling Priapus, and self-illumined (αυταυγης[2]). It is to be obſerved, that the word Πριηπος, afterwards the name of a ſubordinate deity, is here uſed as a title relating to one of his attributes; the reaſons for which I ſhall endeavour to explain hereafter. Wings are figuratively attributed to him as being the emblems of ſwiftneſs and incubation; by the firſt of which he pervaded matter, and by the ſecond fructified the egg of Chaos. The egg was carried in proceſſion at the celebration of the myſteries, becauſe, as Plutarch ſays, it was the material of generation (ὑλη της γενεσεως[3]) containing the ſeeds and germs of life and motion, without being actually poſſeſſed of either. For this reaſon, it was a very proper ſymbol of Chaos, containing the ſeeds and materials of all things, which, however, were barren and uſeleſs, until the Creator fructified them by the incubation of his vital ſpirit, and releaſed them from the reſtraints of inert

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Brucker *in loc. citat.*) Nor could he have gained this knowledge from any people which hiſtory has preſerved any memorials; for we know of none among whom ſcience had made ſuch a progreſs, that a truth ſo remote from common obſervation, and ſo contradictory to the evidence of unimproved ſenſe, would not have been rejected, as it was by all the ſects of Greek philoſophy except the Pythagoreans, who rather revered it as an article of faith, than underſtood it as a diſcovery of ſcience. Thrace was certainly inhabited by a civilized nation at ſome remote period; for, when Philip of Macedon opened the gold mines in that country, he found that they had been worked before with great expenſe and ingenuity, by a people well verſed in mechanics, of whom no memorials whatever were then extant. Of theſe, probably, was Orpheus, as well as Thamyris, both of whoſe poems, Plato ſays, could be read with pleaſure in his time.

[1] See Sophocl. *Œdip. Tyr.*, ver. 1436. [2] Orph. Hym. 5. [3] Symph. l. 2.

matter, by the efforts of his divine ſtrength. The incubation of the vital ſpirit is repreſented on the colonial medals of Tyre, by a ſerpent wreathed around an egg;[1] for the ſerpent, having the power of caſting his ſkin, and apparently renewing his youth, became the ſymbol of life and vigour, and as ſuch is always made an attendant on the mythological deities preſiding over health.[2] It is alſo obſerved, that animals of the ſerpent kind retain life more pertinaciouſly than any others except the Polypus, which is ſometimes repreſented upon the Greek Medals,[3] probably in its ſtead. I have myſelf ſeen the heart of an adder continue its vital motions for many minutes after it has been taken from the body, and even renew them, after it has been cold, upon being moiſtened with warm water, and touched with a ſtimulus.

The Creator, delivering the fructified ſeeds of things from the reſtraints of inert matter by his divine ſtrength, is repreſented on innumerable Greek medals by the Urus, or wild Bull, in the act of butting againſt the Egg of Chaos, and breaking it with his horns.[4] It is true, that the egg is not repreſented with the bull on any of thoſe which I have ſeen; but Mr. D'Hancarville[5] has brought examples from other countries, where the ſame ſyſtem prevailed, which, as well as the general analogy of the Greek theology, prove that the egg muſt have been underſtood, and that the attitude of the bull could have no other meaning. I ſhall alſo have occaſion hereafter to ſhow by other examples, that it was no uncommon practice, in theſe myſtic monuments, to make a part of a group repreſent the whole. It was from this horned ſymbol of the power of the

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[1] See Plate xxi. Fig. 1. [2] Macrob. Sat. i. c. 20.

[3] See Goltz, Tab. ii. Figs. 7 and 8.

[4] See Plate iv. Fig. 1, and Recherches ſur les Arts, vol. i. Pl. viii. The Hebrew word *Chroub*, or *Cherub*, ſignified originally *ſtrong* or *robuſt*; but is uſually employed metaphorically, ſignifying a Bull. See Cleric. in *Exod.* c. xxv.

[5] Recherches ſur les Arts, lib. i.

Deity that horns were placed in the portraits of kings to ſhow that their power was derived from Heaven, and acknowledged no earthly ſuperior. The moderns have indeed changed the meaning of this ſymbol, and given it a ſenſe of which, perhaps, it would be difficult to find the origin, though I have often wondered that it has never exerciſed the ſagacity of thoſe learned gentlemen who make Britiſh antiquities the ſubjects of their laborious inquiries. At preſent, it certainly does not bear any character of dignity or power; nor does it ever imply that thoſe to whom it is attributed have been particularly favoured by the generative or creative powers. But this is a ſubject much too important to be diſcuſſed in a digreſſion; I ſhall therefore leave it to thoſe learned antiquarians who have done themſelves ſo much honour, and the public ſo much ſervice, by their ſucceſsful inquiries into cuſtoms of the ſame kind. To their indefatigable induſtry and exquiſite ingenuity I earneſtly recommend it, only obſerving that this modern acceptation of the ſymbol is of conſiderable antiquity, for it is mentioned as proverbial in the Oneirocritics of Artemidorus;[1] and that it is not now confined to Great Britain, but prevails in moſt parts of Chriſtendom, as the ancient acceptation of it did formerly in moſt parts of the world, even among that people from whoſe religion Chriſtianity is derived; for it is a common mode of expreſſion in the Old Teſtament, to ſay that the horns of any one ſhall be exalted, in order to ſignify that he ſhall be raiſed into power or pre-eminence; and when Moſes deſcended from the Mount with the ſpirit of God ſtill upon him, his head appeared horned.[2]

To the head of the bull was ſometimes joined the organ of generation, which repreſented not only the ſtrength of the Creator,

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[1] Lib. i. c. 12.

[2] *Exod.* c. xxxiv. v. 35, ed. Vulgat. Other tranſlators underſtand the expreſſion metaphorically, and ſuppoſe it to mean radiated, or luminous.

but the peculiar direction of it to the moſt beneficial purpoſe, the propagation of ſenſitive beings. Of this there is a ſmall bronze in the Muſeum of Mr. Townley, of which an engraving is given in Plate III. Fig. 2.[1]

Sometimes this generative attribute is repreſented by the ſymbol of the goat, ſuppoſed to be the moſt ſalacious of animals, and therefore adopted upon the ſame principles as the bull and the ſerpent.[2] The choral odes, ſung in honour of the generator Bacchus, were hence called *τραγωδιαι*, or ſongs of the goat; a title which is now applied to the dramatic dialogues anciently inſerted in theſe odes, to break their uniformity. On a medal, ſtruck in honour of Auguſtus, the goat terminates in the tail of a fiſh, to ſhow the generative power incorporated with water. Under his feet is the globe of the earth, ſuppoſed to be fertiliſed by this union; and upon his back, the cornucopia, repreſenting the reſult of this fertility.[3]

Mr. D'Hancarville attributes the origin of all theſe ſymbols to the ambiguity of words; the ſame term being employed in the primitive language to ſignify God and a Bull, the Univerſe and a Goat, Life and a Serpent. But words are only the types and ſymbols of ideas, and therefore muſt be poſterior to them, in the ſame manner as ideas are to their objects. The words of a primitive language, being imitative of the ideas from which they ſprung, and of the objects they meant to expreſs, as far as the imperfections of the organs of ſpeech will admit, there muſt neceſſarily be the ſame kind of analogy between them as between the ideas and objects themſelves. It is impoſſible, therefore, that in ſuch a language any ambiguity of this ſort could exiſt, as it does in ſecondary

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[1] See Plate III.

[2] *Τον δε τραγον αὠεθεωσαν (ὁι Αιγυῶτιοι) καθαῶερ και ῶαρα τοις Ελλησι τετιμησθαι λεγουσι τον Πριαῶον, δια το γεννητικον μοριον.* DIODOR. lib. i. p. 78.

[3] Plate X. Fig. 3.

languages; the words of which, being collected from various ſources, and blended together without having any natural connection, become arbitrary ſigns of convention, inſtead of imitative repreſentations of ideas. In this caſe it often happens, that words, ſimilar in form, but different in meaning, have been adopted from different ſources, which, being blended together, loſe their little difference of form, and retain their entire difference of meaning. Hence ambiguities ariſe, ſuch as thoſe above mentioned, which could not poſſibly exiſt in an original tongue.

The Greek poets and artiſts frequently give the perſonification of a particular attribute for the Deity himſelf; hence he is called Ταυροβοας, Ταυρωπος, Ταυρομορφος,[1] &c., and hence the initials and monograms of the Orphic epithets applied to the Creator, are found with the bull, and other ſymbols, on the Greek medals.[2] It muſt not be imagined from hence, that the ancients ſuppoſed the Deity to exiſt under the form of a bull, a goat, or a ſerpent: on the contrary, he is always deſcribed in the Orphic theology as a general pervading Spirit, without form, or diſtinct locality of any kind; and appears, by a curious fragment preſerved by Proclus,[3] to have been no other than *attraction* perſonified. The ſelf-created mind (νοος αυτογενεθλος) of the Eternal Father is ſaid to have ſpread the heavy bond of love through all things (πασιν ενεσπειρεν δεσμον περιβριθη Ερωτος), in order that they might endure for ever. This Eternal Father is Κρονος, time or eternity, perſonified; and ſo taken for the unknown Being that fills eternity and infinity. The ancient theologiſts knew that we could form no poſitive idea of infinity, whether of power, ſpace, or time; it being fleeting and fugitive, and eluding the underſtanding by a continued and boundleſs pro-

[1] Orph. Hymn. v. et xxix.

[2] Numm. Vet. Pop. et Urb. Tab. xxxix. Figs. 19 et 20. They are on moſt of the medals of Marſeilles, Naples, Thurium and many other cities.

[3] In *Tim.* III., et *Frag. Orphic.*, ed. Geſner.

greſſion. The only notion we have of it is from the addition or diviſion of finite things, which ſuggeſt the idea of infinite, only from a power we feel in ourſelves of ſtill multiplying and dividing without end. The Schoolmen indeed were bolder, and, by a ſummary mode of reaſoning, in which they were very expert, proved that they had as clear and adequate an idea of infinity, as of any finite ſubſtance whatever. Infinity, ſaid they, is that which has no bounds. This negation, being a poſitive aſſertion, muſt be founded on a poſitive idea. We have therefore a poſitive idea of infinity.

The Eclectic Jews, and their followers, the Ammonian and Chriſtian Platonics, who endeavoured to make their own philoſophy and religion conform to the ancient theology, held infinity of ſpace to be only the immenſity of the divine preſence. Ὁ Θεος ἑαυτῳ τοπος εστι[1] was their dogma, which is now inſerted into the Confeſſional of the Greek Church.[2] This infinity was diſtinguiſhed by them from common ſpace, as time was from eternity. Whatever is eternal or infinite, ſaid they, muſt be abſolutely indiviſible; becauſe diviſion is in itſelf inconſiſtent with infinite continuity and duration: therefore ſpace and time are diſtinct from infinity and eternity, which are void of all parts and gradations whatever. Time is meaſured by years, days, hours, &c., and diſtinguiſhed by paſt, preſent, and future; but theſe, being diviſions, are excluded from eternity, as locality is from infinity, and as both are from the Being who fills both; who can therefore feel no ſucceſſion of events, nor know any gradation of diſtance; but muſt comprehend infinite duration as if it were one moment, and infinite extent as if it were but a ſingle point.[3] Hence the Ammonian Platonics ſpeak of him as concentered in his own unity, and extended through all things, but par-

[1] Philo. *de Leg. Alleg.* lib. i. Jo. Damaſc *de Orth. Fid.*

[2] Moſheim. Nota in Sec. xxiv. Cudw. *Syſt. Intellect.*

[3] See Boeth. *de Conſol. Philoſ.* lib. iv. proſ. 6.

ticipated of by none. Being of a nature more refined and elevated than intelligence itſelf, he could not be known by ſenſe, perception, or reaſon; and being the cauſe of all, he muſt be anterior to all, even to eternity itſelf, if conſidered as eternity of time, and not as the intellectual unity, which is the Deity himſelf, by whoſe emanations all things exiſt, and to whoſe proximity or diſtances they owe their degrees of excellence or baſeneſs. *Being* itſelf, in its moſt abſtract ſenſe, is derived from him; for that which is the cauſe and beginning of all *Being*, cannot be a part of that *All* which ſprung from himſelf: therefore he is not *Being*, nor is *Being* his *Attribute;* for that which has an attribute cannot have the abſtract ſimplicity of pure unity. All *Being* is in its nature finite; for, if it was otherwiſe, it muſt be without bounds every way; and therefore could have no gradation of proximity to the firſt cauſe, or conſequent pre-eminence of one part over another: for, as all diſtinctions of time are excluded from infinite duration, and all diviſions of locality from infinite extent, ſo are all degrees of priority from infinite progreſſion. The mind *is* and *acts* in itſelf; but the abſtract unity of the firſt cause is neither in itſelf, nor in another;—not in itſelf, becauſe that would imply modification, from which abſtract ſimplicity is neceſſarily exempt; nor in another, becauſe then there would be an hypoſtatical duality, inſtead of abſolute unity. In both caſes there would be a locality of hypoſtaſis, inconſiſtent with intellectual infinity. As all phyſical attributes were excluded from this metaphyſical abſtraction, which they called their firſt cauſe, he muſt of courſe be deſtitute of all moral ones, which are only generaliſed modes of action of the former. Even ſimple abſtract truth was denied him; for truth, as Proclus ſays, is merely the relative to falſehood; and no relative can exiſt without a poſitive or correlative. The Deity therefore who has no falſehood, can have no truth, in our ſenſe of the word.[1]

[1] Proclus *in Theolog. Platon.* lib. i. et ii.

As metaphyſical theology is a ſtudy very generally, and very deſervedly, neglected at preſent, I thought this little ſpecimen of it might be entertaining, from its novelty, to moſt readers; eſpecially as it is intimately connected with the ancient ſyſtem, which I have here undertaken to examine. Thoſe, who wiſh to know more of it, may conſult Proclus on the Theology of Plato, where they will find the moſt exquiſite ingenuity moſt wantonly waſted. No perſons ever ſhewed greater acuteneſs or ſtrength of reaſoning than the Platonics and Scholaſtics; but having quitted common ſenſe, and attempted to mount into the intellectual world, they expended it all in abortive efforts, which may amuſe the imagination, but cannot ſatisfy the underſtanding.

The ancient Theologiſts ſhowed more diſcretion; for, finding that they could conceive no idea of infinity, they were content to revere the Infinite Being in the moſt general and efficient exertion of his power, attraction; whoſe agency is perceptible through all matter, and to which all motion may, perhaps, be ultimately traced. This power, being perſonified, became the ſecondary Deity, to whom all adoration and worſhip were directed, and who is therefore frequently conſidered as the ſole and ſupreme cauſe of all things. His agency being ſuppoſed to extend through the whole material world, and to produce all the various revolutions by which its ſyſtem is ſuſtained, his attributes were of courſe extremely numerous and varied. Theſe were expreſſed by various titles and epithets in the myſtic hymns and litanies, which the artiſts endeavoured to repreſent by various forms and characters of men and animals. The great characteriſtic attribute was repreſented by the organ of generation in that ſtate of tenſion and rigidity which is neceſſary to the due performance of its functions. Many ſmall images of this kind have been found among the ruins of Herculaneum and Pompeii, attached to the bracelets, which the chaſte and pious matrons of antiquity wore round their necks and arms. In theſe, the organ of generation

appears alone, or only accompanied with the wings of incubation,[1] in order to ſhow that the devout wearer devoted herſelf wholly and ſolely to procreation, the great end for which ſhe was ordained. So expreſſive a ſymbol, being conſtantly in her view, muſt keep her attention fixed on its natural object, and continually remind her of the gratitude ſhe owed the Creator, for having taken her into his ſervice, made her a partaker of his moſt valuable bleſſings, and employed her as the paſſive inſtrument in the exertion of his moſt beneficial power.

The female organs of generation were revered[2] as ſymbols of the generative powers of nature or matter, as the male were of the generative powers of God. They are uſually repreſented emblematically, by the Shell, or *Concha Veneris*, which was therefore worn by devout perſons of antiquity, as it ſtill continues to be by pilgrims, and many of the common women of Italy. The union of both was expreſſed by the hand mentioned in Sir William Hamilton's letter;[3] which being a leſs explicit ſymbol, has eſcaped the attention of the reformers, and is ſtill worn, as well as the ſhell, by the women of Italy, though without being underſtood. It repreſented the act of generation, which was conſidered as a ſolemn ſacrament, in honour of the Creator, as will be more fully ſhown hereafter.

The male organs of generation are ſometimes found repreſented by ſigns of the ſame ſort, which might properly be called the ſymbols of ſymbols. One of the moſt remarkable of theſe is a croſs, in the form of the letter T,[4] which thus ſerved as the emblem of creation and generation, before the church adopted it as the ſign of ſalvation; a lucky coincidence of ideas, which, without doubt, facilitated the

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[1] Plate II. Fig. 2. engraved from one in the Britiſh Muſeum.

[2] Auguſt. *de Civ. Dei*, Lib. VI. c. 9.

[3] See Plate II. Fig. 1. from one in the Britiſh Muſeum, in which both ſymbols are united.

[4] Recherches ſur les Arts, lib. i. c. 3.

reception of it among the faithful. To the repreſentative of the male organs was ſometimes added a human head, which gives it the exact appearance of a crucifix; as it has on a medal of Cyzicus, publiſhed by M. Pellerin.[1] On an ancient medal, found in Cyprus, which, from the ſtyle of workmanſhip, is certainly anterior to the Macedonian conqueſt, it appears with the chaplet or roſary, ſuch as is now uſed in the Romiſh churches;[2] the beads of which were uſed, anciently, to reckon time.[3] Their being placed in a circle, marked its progreſſive continuity; while their ſeparation from each other marked the diviſions, by which it is made to return on itſelf, and thus produce years, months, and days. The ſymbol of the creative power is placed upon them, becauſe theſe diviſions were particularly under his influence and protection; the ſun being his viſible image, and the centre of his power, from which his emanations extended through the univerſe. Hence the Egyptians, in their ſacred hymns, called upon Oſiris, as the being who dwelt concealed in the embraces of the ſun;[4] and hence the great luminary itſelf is called Κοσμοκρατωζ (Ruler of the World) in the Orphic Hymns.[5]

This general emanation of the pervading Spirit of God, by which all things are generated and maintained, is beautifully deſcribed by Virgil, in the following lines:

> Deum namque ire per omnes
> Terraſque, tractuſque maris, cœlumque profundum.
> Hinc pecudes, armenta, viros, genus omne ferarum,
> Quemque ſibi tenues naſcentem arceſſere vitas.
> Scilicet huc reddi deinde, ac reſoluta referri
> Omnia: nec morti eſſe locum, ſed viva volare
> Sideris in numerum, atque alto ſuccedere cœlo.[6]

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[1] See Plate IX. Fig. 1.

[2] Plate IX. Fig. 2, from Pellerin. Similar medals are in the Hunter Collection, and are evidently of Phœnician work.

[3] Recherches ſur les Arts, lib. i. c. 3.

[4] Plutarch. *de Is. et Oſir.*

[5] See Hymn VII.

[6] Georgic. lib. iv. ver. 221.

The Ethereal Spirit is here deſcribed as expanding itſelf through the univerſe, and giving life and motion to the inhabitants of earth, water, and air, by a participation of its own eſſence, each particle of which returned to its native ſource, at the diſſolution of the body which it animated. Hence, not only men, but all animals, and even vegetables, were ſuppoſed to be impregnated with ſome particles of the Divine Nature infuſed into them, from which their various qualities and diſpoſitions, as well as their powers of propagation, were ſuppoſed to be derived. Theſe appeared to be ſo many emanations of the Divine attributes, operating in different modes and degrees, according to the nature of the beings to which they belonged. Hence the characteriſtic properties of animals and plants were not only regarded as repreſentations, but as actual emanations of the Divine Power, conſubſtantial with his own eſſence.[1] For this reaſon, the ſymbols were treated with greater reſpect and veneration than if they had been merely ſigns and characters of convention. Plutarch ſays, that moſt of the Egyptian prieſts held the bull Apis, who was worſhipped with ſo much ceremony, to be only an image of the Spirit of Oſiris.[2] This I take to have been the real meaning of all the animal worſhip of the Egyptians, about which ſo much has been written, and ſo little diſcovered. Thoſe animals or plants, in which any particular attribute of the Deity ſeemed to predominate, became the ſymbols of that attribute, and were accordingly worſhipped as the images of Divine Providence, acting in that particular direction. Like many other cuſtoms, both of ancient and modern worſhip, the practice, probably, continued long after the reaſons upon which it was founded were either wholly loſt, or only partially preſerved, in vague traditions. This was the caſe in Egypt; for, though many of the prieſts knew or conjectured the origin of the worſhip of the bull, they could give no rational

[1] Proclus in *Theol. Plat.* lib. i. pp. 56, 57. [2] *De Is. et Os.*

account why the crocodile, the ichneumon, and the ibis, received ſimilar honours. The ſymbolical characters, called hieroglyphics, continued to be eſteemed by them as more holy and venerable than the conventional repreſentations of ſounds, notwithſtanding their manifeſt inferiority; yet it does not appear, from any accounts extant, that they were able to aſſign any reaſon for this preference. On the contrary, Strabo tells us that the Egyptians of his time were wholly ignorant of their ancient learning and religion,[1] though impoſtors continually pretended to explain it. Their ignorance in theſe points is not to be wondered at, conſidering that the moſt ancient Egyptians, of whom we have any authentic accounts, lived after the ſubverſion of their monarchy and deſtruction of their temples by the Perſians, who uſed every endeavour to annihilate their religion; firſt, by command of Cambyſes,[2] and then of Ochus.[3] What they were before this calamity, we have no direct information; for Herodotus is the earlieſt traveller, and he viſited this country when in ruins.

It is obſervable in all modern religions, that men are ſuperſtitious in proportion as they are ignorant, and that thoſe who know leaſt of the principles of religion are the moſt earneſt and fervent in the practice of its exterior rites and ceremonies. We may ſuppoſe from analogy, that this was the caſe with the Egyptians. The learned and rational merely reſpected and revered the ſacred animals, whilſt the vulgar worſhipped and adored them. The greateſt part of the former being, as is natural to ſuppoſe, deſtroyed by the perſecution of the Perſians, this worſhip and adoration became general; different cities adopting different animals as their tutelar deities, in the ſame manner as the Catholics now put themſelves under the protection of different ſaints and martyrs. Like

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[1] Lib. xvii.

[2] Herodot. lib. iii. Strabo, lib. xvii.

[3] Plutarch. *de Is. et Os.*

them, too, in the fervency of their devotion for the imaginary agent, they forgot the original cauſe.

The cuſtom of keeping ſacred animals as images of the Divine attributes, ſeems once to have prevailed in Greece as well as Egypt; for the God of Health was repreſented by a living ſerpent at Epidaurus, even in the laſt ſtage of their religion.[1] In general, however, they preferred wrought images, not from their ſuperiority in art, which they did not acquire till after the time of Homer,[2] when their theology was entirely corrupted; but becauſe they had thus the means of expreſſing their ideas more fully, by combining ſeveral forms together, and ſhowing, not only the Divine attribute, but the mode and purpoſe of its operation. For inſtance; the celebrated bronze in the Vatican has the male organs of generation placed upon the head of a cock, the emblem of the ſun, ſupported by the neck and ſhoulders of a man. In this compoſition they repreſented the generative power of the Ερως, the Oſiris, Mithras, or Bacchus, whoſe centre is the ſun, incarnate with man. By the inſcription on the pedeſtal, the attribute thus perſonified, is ſtyled *The Saviour of the World* (Σωτηζ κοσμȣ); a title always venerable, under whatever image it be repreſented.[3]

The Egyptians ſhowed this incarnation of the Deity by a leſs permanent, though equally expreſſive ſymbol. At Mendes a living goat was kept as the image of the generative power, to whom the women preſented themſelves naked, and had the honour of being publicly enjoyed by him. Herodotus ſaw the act openly performed (ες επιδειξιν ανθρωπων), and calls it a prodigy (τερας). But the Egyptians had no ſuch horror of it; for it was to them a repreſentation of the incarnation of the Deity, and the communication of

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[1] Liv. *Hiſt. Epitom.* lib. xi.

[2] When Homer praiſes any work of art, he calls it the work of Sidonians.

[3] See Plate II. Fig. 3.

his creative ſpirit to man. It was one of the ſacraments of that ancient church, and was, without doubt, beheld with that pious awe and reverence with which devout perſons always contemplate the myſteries of their faith, whatever they happen to be; for, as the learned and orthodox Biſhop Warburton, whoſe authority it is not for me to diſpute, ſays, *from the nature of any action morality cannot ariſe, nor from its effects;*[1] therefore, for aught we can tell, this ceremony, however ſhocking it may appear to modern manners and opinions, might have been intrinſically meritorious at the time of its celebration, and afforded a truly edifying ſpectacle to the ſaints of ancient Egypt. Indeed, the Greeks do not ſeem to have felt much horror or diſguſt at the imitative repreſentation of it, whatever the hiſtorian might have thought proper to expreſs at the real celebration. Several ſpecimens of their ſculpture in this way have eſcaped the fury of the reformers, and remained for the inſtruction of later times. One of theſe, found among the ruins of Herculaneum, and kept concealed in the Royal Muſeum of Portici, is well known. Another exiſts in the collection of Mr. Townley, which I have thought proper to have engraved for the benefit of the learned.[2] It may be remarked, that in theſe monuments the goat is *paſſive* inſtead of *active;* and that the *human ſymbol* is repreſented as incarnate with the *divine*, inſtead of the *divine* with the *human:* but this is in fact no difference; for the Creator, being of both ſexes, is repreſented indifferently of either. In the other ſymbol of the bull, the ſex is equally varied; the Greek medals having ſometimes a bull, and ſometimes a cow,[3] which, Strabo tells us, was employed as the ſymbol of Venus, the paſſive generative power, at Momemphis, in Egypt.[4] Both the bull and the cow are

[1] Div. Leg. book i. c. 4.

[2] See Plate vii.

[3] See Plate iv. Fig. 1, 2, 3, and Plate iii. Fig. 4, engraved from medals belonging to me.

[4] Lib. xvii.

alſo worſhipped at preſent by the Hindoos, as ſymbols of the male and female, or generative and nutritive, powers of the Deity. The cow is in almoſt all their pagodas; but the bull is revered with ſuperior ſolemnity and devotion. At Tanjour is a monument of their piety to him, which even the inflexible perſeverance, and habitual induſtry of the natives of that country, could ſcarcely have erected without greater knowledge in practical mechanics than they now poſſeſs. It is a ſtatue of a bull lying down, hewn, with great accuracy, out of a ſingle piece of hard granite, which has been conveyed by land from the diſtance of one hundred miles, although its weight, in its preſent reduced ſtate, muſt be at leaſt one hundred tons.[1] The Greeks ſometimes made their Taurine Bacchus, or bull, with a human face, to expreſs both ſexes, which they ſignified by the initial of the epithet Διφυης placed under him.[2] Over him they frequently put the radiated afteriſk, which repreſents the ſun, to ſhow the Deity, whoſe attribute he was intended to expreſs.[3] Hence we may perceive the reaſon why the Germans, who, according to Cæſar,[4] worſhipped the ſun, carried a brazen bull, as the image of their God, when they invaded the Roman dominions in the time of Marius;[5] and even the choſen people of Providence, when they made unto themſelves an image of the God who was to conduct them through the deſert, and caſt out the ungodly, from before them, made it in the ſhape of a young bull, or calf.[6]

The Greeks, as they advanced in the cultivation of the imitative

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[1] See Plate XXII. with the meaſurements, as made by Capt. Patterſon on the ſpot.

[2] See Plate IV. Fig. 2, from a medal of Naples in the Hunter collection.

[3] See Plate IV. Fig. 2, and Plate XIX. Fig. 4, from a medal of Cales, belonging to me.

[4] *De B. G.*, lib. vi. [5] Plut. *in Mario.*

[6] *Exod.* c. xxxii., with Patrick's *Commentary.*

arts, gradually changed the animal for the human form, preſerving ſtill the original character. The human head was at firſt added to the body of the bull;[1] but afterwards the whole figure was made human, with ſome of the features, and general character of the animal, blended with it.[2] Oftentimes, however, theſe mixed figures had a peculiar and proper meaning, like that of the Vatican Bronze; and were not intended as mere refinements of art. Such are the fawns and ſatyrs, who repreſent the emanations of the Creator, incarnate with man, acting as his angels and miniſters in the work of univerſal generation. In copulation with the goat, they repreſent the reciprocal incarnation of man with the deity, when incorporated with univerſal matter: for the Deity, being both male and female, was both active and paſſive in procreation; firſt animating man by an emanation from his own eſſence, and then employing that emanation to reproduce, in conjunction with the common productive powers of nature, which are no other than his own prolific ſpirit transfuſed through matter.

Theſe mixed beings are derived from Pan, the principle of univerſal order; of whoſe perſonified image they partake. Pan is addreſſed in the Orphic Litanies as the firſt-begotten love, or creator incorporated in univerſal matter, and ſo forming the world.[3] The heaven, the earth, water, and fire are ſaid to be members of him; and he is deſcribed as the origin and ſource of all things (παντοφυης γενετωζ παντων), as repreſenting matter animated by the Divine Spirit. Lycæan Pan was the moſt ancient and revered God of the Arcadians,[4] the moſt ancient people of Greece. The epithet Lycæan (Λυκαιος), is uſually derived from λυκος, a wolf; though it is impoſſible to

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[1] See the medals of Naples, Gela, &c. Plate IV. Fig. 2. and Plate IX. Fig. 11, are ſpecimens; but the coins are in all collections.

[2] See *Bronzi d'Herculano*, tom. v. Plate v.

[3] Hymn. x.

[4] Dionys. *Antiq. Rom.* lib. i. c. 32.

find any relation which this etymology can have with the deities to which it is applied; for the epithet Λυκαιος, or Λυκειος (which is only the different pronunciation of a different dialect), is occasionally applied to almost all the gods. I have therefore no doubt, but that it ought to be derived from the old word λυκος, or λυκη, light; from which came the Latin word *lux*.[1] In this sense it is a very proper epithet for the Divine Nature, of whose essence light was supposed to be. I am confirmed in this conjecture by a word in the *Electra* of Sophocles, which seems hitherto to have been misunderstood. At the opening of the play, the old tutor of Orestes, entering Argos with his young pupil, points out to him the most celebrated public buildings, and amongst them the Lycæan Forum, τὸ λυκοκτονου Θεου, which the scholiast and translators interpret, *of the wolf-killing God*, though there is no reason whatever why this epithet should be applied to Apollo. But, if we derive the compound from λυκος, light, and εκτεινειν, to extend, instead of κτεινειν, to kill, the meaning will be perfectly just and natural; for *light-extending*, is of all others the propereſt epithet for the sun. Sophocles, as well as Virgil, is known to have been an admirer of ancient expressions, and to have imitated Homer more than any other Attic Poet; therefore, his employing an obsolete word is not to be wondered at. Taking this etymology as the true one, the Lycæan Pan of Arcadia is Pan *the luminous*; that is, the divine essence of light incorporated in universal matter. The Arcadians called him τον της ὑλης Κυριον, the lord of matter, as Macrobius rightly translates it.[2] He was hence called Sylvanus by the Latins; *Sylva* being, in the ancient Pelasgian and Æolian Greek, from which the Latin is derived, the same as ὑλη; for it is well known to all who have compared the two languages attentively, that the *Sigma* and *Vau* are letters, the one of which was partially, and the other generally omitted by the Greeks, in the refinement of

[1] Macrob. *Sat.* xvii.

[2] Sat. i. c. 22.

their pronunciation and orthography which took place after the emigration of the Latian and Etruſcan colonies. The Chorus in the *Ajax* of Sophocles addreſs Pan by the title of Ἁλιπλαγκτος,[1] probably becauſe he was worſhipped on the ſhores of the ſea; water being reckoned the beſt and moſt prolific of the ſubordinate elements,[2] upon which the Spirit of God, according to Moſes, or the Plaſtic Nature, according to the Platonics, operating, produced life and motion on earth. Hence the ocean is ſaid by Homer to be the ſource of all things;[3] and hence the uſe of water in baptiſm, which was to regenerate, and, in a manner, new create the perſon baptiſed; for the ſoul, ſuppoſed by many of the primitive Chriſtians to be naturally mortal, was then ſuppoſed to become immortal.[4] Upon the ſame principle, the figure of Pan,[5] is repreſented pouring water upon the organ of generation; that is, invigorating the active creative power by the prolific element upon which it acted; for water was conſidered as the eſſence of the paſſive principle, as fire was of the active; the one being of terreſtrial, and the other of æthereal origin. Hence, St. John the Baptiſt, who might have acquired ſome knowledge of the ancient theology, through its revivers, the Eclectic Jews, ſays: *I, indeed, baptiſe you in water to repentance; but he that cometh after me, who is more powerful than I am, ſhall baptiſe you in the Holy Spirit, and in fire:*[6] that is, I only purify and refreſh the ſoul, by a communion with the terreſtrial principle of life; but he that cometh after me, will regenerate and reſtore it, by a communion with the ethereal principle.[7] Pan is

[1] Ver. 703. [2] Pindar. *Olymp.* i. ver. 1. Diodor. Sic. lib. i. p. 11.

[3] Il. ξ, ver. 246, and φ, ver. 196.

[4] Clementina, *Hom.* xii. Arnob. *adv. Gentes*, lib. ii.

[5] See Plate v. Fig. 1. The original is among the antiquities found in Herculaneum, now in the Muſeum of Portici.

[6] *Matth.* c. iii.

[7] It is the avowed intention of the learned and excellent work of Grotius, to prove that there is nothing new in Chriſtianity. What I have here adduced, may ſerve to

again addreſſed in the Salaminian Chorus of the ſame tragedy of Sophocles, by the titles of author and director of the dances of the gods (Θεων χοροποι' αναξ), as being the author and diſpoſer of the regular motions of the univerſe, of which theſe divine dances were ſymbols, which are ſaid in the ſame paſſage to be (αυτοδαη) *ſelf-taught* to him. Both the Gnoſſian and Nyſian dances are here included,[1] the former ſacred to Jupiter, and the latter to Bacchus; for Pan, being the principle of univerſal order, partook of the nature of all the other gods. They were perſonifications of particular modes of acting of the great all-ruling principle; and he, of his general law and pre-eſtabliſhed harmony by which he governs the univerſe. Hence he is often repreſented playing on a pipe; muſic being the natural emblem of this phyſical harmony. According to Plutarch, the Jupiter Ammon of the Africans was the ſame as the Pan of the Greeks.[2] This explains the reaſon why the Macedonian kings aſſumed the horns of that god; for, though Alexander pretended to be his ſon, his ſucceſſors never pretended to any ſuch honour; and yet they equally aſſumed the ſymbols, as appears from their medals.[3] The caſe is, that Pan, or Ammon, being the univerſe, and Jupiter a title of the Supreme God (as will be ſhown hereafter), the horns, the emblems of his power, ſeemed the propereſt ſymbols of that ſupreme and univerſal dominion to which they all, as well as Alexander, had the ambition to aſpire. The figure of Ammon was compounded of the forms of the ram, as that of Pan was of the goat; the reaſon of which is difficult to aſcertain, unleſs we ſuppoſe

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confirm and illuſtrate the diſcoveries of that great and good man. See *de Veritate Relig. Chriſt.* lib. iv, c. 12.

[1] Ver. 708.

[2] *De Iſ. et Oſ.*

[3] See Plate iv. Fig 4, engraved from one of Lyſimachus, of exquiſite beauty, belonging to me. Antigonus put the head of Pan upon his coins, which are not uncommon.

that goats were unknown in the country where his worſhip aroſe, and that the ram expreſſed the ſame attribute.[1] In a gem in the Muſeum of Charles Townley, Eſq., the head of the Greek Pan is joined to that of a ram, on the body of a cock, over whoſe head is the aſteriſk of the ſun, and below it the head of an aquatic fowl, attached to the ſame body.[2] The cock is the ſymbol of the ſun, probably from proclaiming his approach in the morning; and the aquatic fowl is the emblem of water; ſo that this compoſition, apparently ſo whimſical, repreſents the univerſe between the two great prolific elements, the one the active, and the other the paſſive cauſe of all things.

The Creator being both male and female, the emanations of his creative ſpirit, operating upon univerſal matter, produced ſubordinate miniſters of both ſexes, and gave, as companions to the fauns and ſatyrs, the nymphs of the waters, the mountains and the woods, ſignifying the paſſive productive powers of each, ſubdivided and diffuſed. Of the ſame claſs are the Γενετυλλιδες, mentioned by Pauſanias as companions to Venus,[3] who, as well as Ceres, Juno, Diana, Iſis, &c., was only a perſonification of nature, or the paſſive principle of generation, operating in various modes. Apuleius invokes Iſis by the names of the Eleuſinian Ceres, Celeſtial Venus, and Proſerpine; and, when the Goddeſs anſwers him, ſhe deſcribes herſelf as follows: "I am," ſays ſhe, "nature, the parent of things, the ſovereign of the elements, the primary progeny of time, the moſt exalted of the deities, the firſt of the heavenly Gods and Goddeſſes, the queen of the ſhades, the uniform countenance; who diſpoſe, with my nod, the luminous heights of heaven, the ſalubrious breezes of the ſea, and the mournful ſilence of the dead; whoſe ſingle Deity the whole

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[1] Pauſanias (lib. ii.) ſays he knew the meaning of this ſymbol, but did not chooſe to reveal it, it being a part of the myſtic worſhip.

[2] Plate III. Fig. 1. [3] Lib. i.

world venerates, in many forms, with various rites, and various names. The Egyptians, ſkilled in ancient learning, worſhip me with proper ceremonies, and call me by my true name, Queen Iſis."[1]

According to the Egyptians, Iſis copulated with her brother Oſiris in the womb of their mother; from whence ſprung Arueris, or Orus, the Apollo of the Greeks.[2] This allegory means no more than that the active and paſſive powers of creation united in the womb of night; where they had been implanted by the unknown father, Κρονος, or time, and by their union produced the ſeparation or delivery of the elements from each other; for the name Apollo is only a title derived from *απολυω, to deliver from*.[3] They made the robes of Iſis various in their colours and complicated in their folds, becauſe the paſſive or material power appeared in various ſhapes and modes, as accommodating itſelf to the active; but the dreſs of Oſiris was ſimple, and of one luminous colour, to ſhow the unity of his eſſence, and univerſality of his power; equally the ſame through all things.[4] The luminous, or flame colour, repreſented the ſun, who, in the language of the theologiſts, was the ſubſtance of his ſacred power, and the viſible image of his intellectual being.[5] He is called, in the Orphic Litanies, the chain which connects all things together (ὁ δ' *ανεδραμε δεσμος ἁπαντων*,[6] as being the principle of attraction; and the deliverer (λυσιος),[7] as giving liberty to the innate powers of nature, and thus fertiliſing matter. Theſe epithets not only expreſs the theological, but alſo the phyſical ſyſtem of the Orphic ſchool; according to which the ſun, being placed in the centre of the

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[1] *Metamorph.* lib. xi. [2] Plutarch. *de Iſ. et Oſ.* [3] Damm. *Lex. Etym.*
[4] Plutarch. *de Iſ. et Oſ.* [5] Ibid. [6] Hymn. xlvi.
[7] Hymn. xlix. the initials of this epithet are with the bull on a medal of Naples belonging to me. The bull has a human countenance, and has therefore been called a minotaur by antiquarians; notwithſtanding he is to be found on different medals, accompanied with all the ſymbols both of Bacchus and Apollo, and with the initials of moſt of the epithets to be found in the Orphic Litanies.

univerſe, with the planets moving round, was, by his attractive force, the cauſe of all union and harmony in the whole; and, by the emanation of his beams, the cauſe of all motion and activity in the parts. This ſyſtem is alluded to by Homer in the allegory of the golden chain, by which Jupiter ſuſpends all things;[1] though there is every reaſon to believe that the poet himſelf was ignorant of its meaning, and only related it as he had heard it. The Ammonian Platonics adopted the ſame ſyſtem of attraction, but changed its centre from the ſun to their metaphyſical abſtraction or incomprehenſible unity, whoſe emanations pervaded all things, and held all things together.[2]

Beſides the Fauns, Satyrs, and Nymphs, the incarnate emanations of the active and paſſive powers of the Creator, we often find in the ancient ſculptures certain androgynous beings poſſeſſed of the characteriſtic organs of both ſexes, which I take to repreſent organized matter in its firſt ſtage; that is, immediately after it was releaſed from chaos, and before it was animated by a participation of the ethereal eſſence of the Creator. In a beautiful gem belonging to R. Wilbraham, Eſq.,[3] one of theſe androgynous figures is repreſented ſleeping, with the organs of generation covered, and the egg of chaos broken under it. On the other ſide is Bacchus the Creator, bearing a torch, the emblem of ethereal fire, and extending it towards the ſleeping figure; whilſt one of his agents ſeems only to wait his permiſſion to begin the execution of that office, which, according to every outward and viſible ſign, he appears able to diſcharge with energy and effect. The Creator himſelf leans upon one of thoſe figures commonly called *Sileni;* but which, from their heavy unwieldy forms, were probably intended as perſonifications of brute inert matter, from which all things are formed, but which,

[1] Il. Θ, ver. xix.
[2] Proclus *in Theol. Plat.* lib. i. c. 21.
[3] See Plate v. Fig. 3.

being incapable of producing any thing of itſelf, is properly repreſented as the ſupport of the creative power, though not actively inſtrumental in his work. The total baldneſs of this figure repreſents the exhauſted, unproductive ſtate of matter, when the generative powers were ſeparated from it; for it was an opinion of the ancients, which I remember to have met with in ſome part of the works of Ariſtotle, to which I cannot at preſent refer, that every act of coition produced a tranſient chill in the brain, by which ſome of the roots of the hair were looſened; ſo that baldneſs was a mark of ſterility acquired by exceſſive exertion. The figures of Pan have nearly the ſame forms with that which I have here ſuppoſed to repreſent inert matter; only that they are compounded with thoſe of the goat, the ſymbol of the creative power, by which matter was fructified and regulated. To this is ſometimes added the organ of generation, of an enormous magnitude, to ſignify the application of this power to its nobleſt end, the procreation of ſenſitive and rational beings. This compoſition forms the common Priapus of the Roman poets, who was worſhipped among the other perſonages of the heathen mythology, but underſtood by few of his ancient votaries any better than by the good women of Iſernia. His characteriſtic organ is ſometimes repreſented by the artiſts in that ſtate of tenſion and rigidity, which it aſſumes when about to diſcharge its functions,[1] and at other times in that ſtate of tumid languor, which immediately ſucceeds the performance.[2] In the latter caſe he appears loaded with the productions of nature, the reſult of thoſe prolific efforts, which in the former caſe he appeared ſo well qualified to exert. I have in Plate v. given a figure of him in each ſituation, one taken from a bronze in the Royal Muſeum of Portici, and the other from one in that of Charles Townley, Eſq. It may

[1] Plate v. Fig. 1, from a bronze in the Muſeum at Portici.

[2] Plate v. Fig. 2, from a bronze in the Muſeum of C. Townley, Eſq.

be obſerved, that in the former the muſcles of the face are all ſtrained and contracted, ſo that every nerve ſeems to be in a ſtate of tenſion; whereas in the latter the features are all dilated and fallen, the chin repoſed on the breaſt, and the whole figure expreſſive of languor and fatigue.

If the explanation which I have given of theſe androgynous figures be the true one, the fauns and ſaytrs, which uſually accompany them, muſt repreſent abſtract emanations, and not incarnations of the creative ſpirit, as when in copulation with the goat. The Creator himſelf is frequently repreſented in a human form; and it is natural that his emanations ſhould partake of the ſame, though without having any thing really human in their compoſition. It ſeems however to have been the opinion in ſome parts of Aſia, that the Creator was really of a human form. The Jewiſh legiſlator ſays expreſsly, that God made man in his own image, and, prior to the creation of woman, created him *male and female*,[1] as he himſelf conſequently was.[2] Hence an ingenious author has ſuppoſed that theſe androgynous figures repreſented the firſt individuals of the human race, who, poſſeſſing the organs of both ſexes, produced children of each. This ſeems to be the ſenſe in which they were repreſented by ſome of the ancient artiſts; but I have never met with any trace of it in any Greek author, except Philo the Jew; nor have I ever ſeen any monument of ancient art, in which the Bacchus, or Creator in a human form, was repreſented with the generative organs of both ſexes. In the ſymbolical images, the double nature is frequently expreſſed by ſome androgynous inſect, ſuch as the ſnail, which is endowed with the organs of both ſexes, and can copulate reciprocally with either: but when the refinement of art adopted the human form, it was repreſented by mixing the characters of the

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[1] Genes. c. i. [2] Philo. *de. Leg. Alleg.* lib. ii.

male and female bodies in every part, preſerving ſtill the diſtinctive organs of the male. Hence Euripides calls Bacchus θηλυμορφος,[1] and the Chorus of Bacchanals in the ſame tragedy addreſs him by maſculine and feminine epithets.[2] Ovid alſo ſays to him,

——Tibi, cum ſine cornibus adſtas,
Virgineum caput eſt.[3]

alluding in the firſt line to his taurine, and in the ſecond to his androgynous figure.

The ancient theologiſts were, like the modern, divided into ſects; but, as theſe never diſturbed the peace of ſociety, they have been very little noticed. I have followed what I conceive to be the true Orphic ſyſtem, in the little analyſis which I have here endeavoured to give. This was probably the true catholic faith, though it differs conſiderably from another ancient ſyſtem, deſcribed by Ariſtophanes;[4] which is more poetical, but leſs philoſophical. According to this, Chaos, Night, Erebus, and Tartarus, were the primitive beings. Night, in the infinite breaſt of Erebus, brought forth an egg, from which ſprung Love, who mixed all things together; and from thence ſprung the heaven, the ocean, the earth, and the gods. This ſyſtem is alluded to by the epithet Ωογενος, applied to the Creator in one of the Orphic Litanies:[5] but this could never have been a part of the orthodox faith; for the Creator is uſually repreſented as breaking the egg of chaos, and therefore could not have ſprung from it. In the confuſed medley of allegories and traditions contained in the Theogony attributed to Heſiod, Love is placed after Chaos and the Earth, but anterior to every thing elſe. Theſe differences are not to be wondered at; for Ariſtophanes, ſuppoſing that he underſtood the true ſyſtem, could not with ſafety have revealed it, or even mentioned it any otherwiſe than under the uſual garb of fiction and

[1] Bach. v. 358. [2] Ω Βρομιε, Βρομιε, Πεδων χθονος ενοσι ποτνια. Vers. 504.
[3] *Metam.* lib. iv. v. 18. [4] Ορνιθ. Vers. 693. [5] Hymn v.

allegory ; and as for the author of the Theogony, it is evident, from the ſtrange jumble of incoherent fables which he has put together, that he knew very little of it. The ſyſtem alluded to in the Orphic verſes quoted in the *Argonautics*, is in all probability the true one ; for it is not only conſiſtent in all its parts, but contains a phyſical truth, which the greateſt of the modern diſcoveries has only confirmed and explained. The others ſeem to have been only poetical corruptions of it, which, extending by degrees, produced that unwieldy ſyſtem of poetical mythology, which conſtituted the vulgar religion of Greece.

The fauns and ſatyrs, which accompany the androgynous figures on the ancient ſculptures, are uſually repreſented as miniſtering to the Creator by exerting their characteriſtic attributes upon them, as well as upon the nymphs, the paſſive agents of procreation : but what has puzzled the learned in theſe monuments, and ſeems a contradiction to the general ſyſtem of ancient religion, is that many of theſe groups are in attitudes which are rather adapted to the gratification of diſordered and unnatural appetites, than to extend procreation. But a learned author, who has thrown infinite light upon theſe ſubjects, has effectually cleared them from this ſuſpicion, by ſhowing that they only took the moſt convenient way to get at the female organs of generation, in thoſe mixed beings who poſſeſſed both.[1] This is confirmed by Lucretius, who aſſerts, that this attitude is better adapted to the purpoſes of generation than any other.[2] We may therefore conclude, that inſtead of repreſenting them in the act of gratifying any diſorderly appetites, the artiſts meant to ſhow their modeſty in not indulging their concupiſcence, but in doing their duty in the way beſt adapted to anſwer the ends propoſed by the Creator.

On the Greek medals, where the cow is the ſymbol of the deity,

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[1] *Recherches ſur les Arts*, liv. i. c. 3.

[2] Lib. iv. v. 1260.

ſhe is frequently repreſented licking a calf, which is ſucking her.[1] This is probably meant to ſhow that the creative power cheriſhes and nouriſhes, as well as generates; for, as all quadrupeds lick their young, to refreſh and invigorate them immediately after birth, it is natural to ſuppoſe, according to the general ſyſtem of ſymbolical writing, that this action ſhould be taken as an emblem of the effect it was thought to produce. On other medals the bull or cow is repreſented licking itſelf;[2] which, upon the ſame principle, muſt repreſent the ſtrength of the deity refreſhed and invigorated by the exertion of its own nutritive and plaſtic power upon its own being. On others again is a human head of an androgynous character, like that of the Bacchus διφυης, with the tongue extended over the lower lip, as if to lick ſomething.[3] This was probably the ſame ſymbol, expreſſed in a leſs explicit manner; it being the common practice of the Greek artiſts to make a part of a compoſition ſignify the whole, of which I ſhall ſoon have occaſion to give ſome inconteſtable examples. On a Parian medal publiſhed by Goltzius, the bull licking himſelf is repreſented on one ſide, accompanied by the aſteriſk of the ſun, and on the other, the head with the tongue extended, having ſerpents, the emblems of life, for hair.[4] The ſame medal is in my collection, except that the ſerpents are not attached to the head, but placed by it as diſtinct ſymbols, and that the animal licking itſelf is a female accompanied by the initial of the word Θεος, inſtead of the aſteriſk of the ſun. Antiquarians have called this head a Meduſa; but, had they examined it attentively on any well-preſerved coin, they would have found that the expreſſion of the features means luſt, and not rage or horror.[5] The caſe is, that

[1] See Plate IV. Fig. 3, from a medal of Dyrrachium, belonging to me.

[2] See Plate III. Fig. 5, from one of Gortyna, in the Hunter Collection; and Plate III. Fig. 4, from one of Parium, belonging to me.

[3] See Plate III. Fig. 4, and Plate III. Fig. 6, from Pellerin.

[4] Goltz. *Inſul.* Tab. XIX. Fig. 8.

[5] See Plate III. Fig. 4.

antiquarians have been continually led into error, by ſeeking for explanations of the devices on the Greek medals in the wild and capricious ſtories of Ovid's *Metamorphoſes*, inſtead of examining the firſt principles of ancient religion contained in the Orphic Fragments, the writings of Plutarch, Macrobius, and Apuleius, and the Choral Odes of the Greek tragedies. Theſe principles were the ſubjects of the ancient myſteries, and it is to theſe that the ſymbols on the medals always relate; for they were the public acts of the ſtates, and therefore contain the ſenſe of nations, and not the caprices of individuals.

As M. D'Hancarville found a complete repreſentation of the bull breaking the egg of chaos in the ſculptures of the Japaneſe, when only a part of it appears on the Greek monuments; ſo we may find in a curious Oriental fragment, lately brought from the ſacred caverns of Elephanta, near Bombay, a complete repreſentation of the ſymbol ſo enigmatically expreſſed by the head above mentioned. Theſe caverns are ancient places of worſhip, hewn in the ſolid rock with immenſe labour and difficulty. That from which the fragment in queſtion was brought, is 130 feet long by 110 wide, adorned with columns and ſculptures finiſhed in a ſtyle very different from that of the Indian artiſts.[1] It is now neglected; but others of the ſame kind are ſtill uſed as places of worſhip by the Hindoos, who can give no account of the antiquity of them, which muſt neceſſarily be very remote, for the Hindoos are a very ancient people; and yet the ſculptures reprefent a race of men very unlike them, or any of the preſent inhabitants of India. A ſpecimen of theſe was brought from the iſland of Elephanta, in the Cumberland man-of-war, and now belongs to the muſeum of Mr. Townley. It contains ſeveral figures, in very high relief; the principal of which are a man and woman, in an attitude which I ſhall not venture to deſcribe, but only

[1] *Archæol.* vol. viii. p. 289.

obſerve, that the action, which I have ſuppoſed to be a ſymbol of refreſhment and invigoration, is mutually applied by both to their reſpective organs of generation,[1] the emblems of the active and paſſive powers of procreation, which mutually cheriſh and invigorate each other.

The Hindoos ſtill repreſent the creative powers of the deity by theſe ancient ſymbols, the male and female organs of generation; and worſhip them with the ſame pious reverence as the Greeks and Egyptians did.[2] Like them too they have buried the original principles of their theology under a maſs of poetical mythology, ſo that few of them can give any more perfect account of their faith, than that they mean to worſhip one firſt cauſe, to whom the ſubordinate deities are merely agents, or more properly perſonified modes of action[3] This is the doctrine inculcated, and very fully explained, in the *Bagvat Geeta;* a moral and metaphyſical work lately tranſlated from the Sanſcrit language, and ſaid to have been written upwards of four thouſand years ago. Kreſhna, or the deity become incarnate in the ſhape of man, in order to inſtruct all mankind, is introduced, revealing to his diſciples the fundamental principles of true faith, religion, and wiſdom; which are the exact counterpart of the ſyſtem of emanations, ſo beautifully deſcribed in the lines of Virgil before cited. We here find, though in a more myſtic garb, the ſame one principle of life univerſally emanated and expanded, and ever partially returning to be again abſorbed in the infinite abyſs of intellectual being. This reabſorption, which is throughout recommended as the ultimate end of human perfection, can only be obtained by a life of inward meditation and abſtract thought, too ſteady to be interrupted by any worldly incidents, or diſturbed by any tranſitory affections, whether of mind or body. But as ſuch a life is not in the

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[1] See Plate xi. [2] Sonnerat, *Voyage aux Indes*, T. I. p. 180.
[3] Niebuhr, *Voyages*, vol. II. p. 17.

power of any but a Brahman, inferior rewards, conſiſting of gradual advancements during the tranſmigrations of the ſoul, are held out to the ſoldier, the huſbandman, and mechanic, accordingly as they fulfill the duties of their ſeveral ſtations. Even thoſe who ſerve other gods are not excluded from the benefits awarded to every moral virtue; for, as the divine Teacher ſays, *If they do it with a firm belief, in ſo doing they involuntarily worſhip even me. I am he who partaketh of all worſhip, and I am their reward.*[1] This univerſal deity, being the cauſe of all motion, is alike the cauſe of creation, preſervation, and deſtruction; which three attributes are all expreſſed in the myſtic ſyllable *om*. To repeat this in ſilence, with firm devotion, and immoveable attention, is the ſureſt means of perfection,[2] and conſequent reabſorption, ſince it leads to the contemplation of the Deity, in his three great characteriſtic attributes.

The firſt and greateſt of theſe, the creative or generative attribute, ſeems to have been originally repreſented by the union of the male and female organs of generation, which, under the title of the *Lingam*, ſtill occupies the central and moſt interior receſſes of their temples or pagodas; and is alſo worn, attached to bracelets, round their necks and arms.[3] In a little portable temple brought from the Rohilla country during the late war, and now in the Britiſh Muſeum, this compoſition appears mounted on a pedeſtal, in the midſt of a ſquare area, ſunk in a block of white alabaſter.[4] Round the pedeſtal is a ſerpent, the emblem of life, with his head reſted upon his tail, to denote eternity, or the conſtant return of time upon itſelf, whilſt it flows through perpetual duration, in regular revolutions and ſtated periods. From under the body of the ſerpent ſprings the lotus or water lily, the Nelumbo of Linnæus, which overſpreads the whole of the area not occupied by the figures at the corners.

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[1] *Bagvat Geeta*, p. 81. [2] Ibid. p. 74.

[3] Sonnerat, *Voyage aux Indes*, liv. ii. p. 180. Planche LIV. [4] See Plate XII.

This plant grows in the water, and, amongſt its broad leaves, puts forth a flower, in the centre of which is formed the ſeed-veſſel, ſhaped like a bell or inverted cone, and punctuated on the top with little cavities or cells, in which the ſeeds grow.[1] The orifices of theſe cells being too ſmall to let the ſeeds drop out when ripe, they ſhoot forth into new plants, in the places where they were formed; the bulb of the veſſel ſerving as a matrice to nouriſh them, until they acquire ſuch a degree of magnitude as to burſt it open and releaſe themſelves; after which, like other aquatic weeds, they take root wherever the current depoſits them. This plant therefore, being thus productive of itſelf, and vegetating from its own matrice, without being foſtered in the earth, was naturally adopted as the ſymbol of the productive power of the waters, upon which the active ſpirit of the Creator operated in giving life and vegetation to matter. We accordingly find it employed in every part of the northern hemiſphere, where the ſymbolical religion, improperly called idolatry, does or ever did prevail. The ſacred images of the Tartars, Japoneſe, and Indians, are almoſt all placed upon it; of which numerous inſtances occur in the publications of Kæmpfer, Chappe D'Auteroche, and Sonnerat. The upper part of the baſe of the *Lingam* alſo conſiſts of this flower, blended and compoſed with the female organ of generation which it ſupports: and the ancient author of the *Bagvat Geeta* ſpeaks of the creator Brahma as ſitting upon his lotus throne.[2] The figures of Iſis, upon the Iſiac Table, hold the ſtem of this plant, ſurmounted by the ſeed-veſſel in one hand, and the croſs,[3] repreſenting the male organs of generation, in the other; thus ſignifying the univerſal power, both active and paſſive, attributed to that goddeſs. On the ſame Iſiac Table is alſo the repreſentation of an Egyptian temple, the columns of which are exactly like the plant which Iſis holds in her hand,

[1] See Plate xx. Fig. 1.
[2] Page 91.
[3] See Plate xviii. Fig. 2, from Pignorius.

except that the ſtem is made larger, in order to give it that ſtability which is neceſſary to ſupport a roof and entablature.[1] Columns and capitals of the ſame kind are ſtill exiſting, in great numbers, among the ruins of Thebes, in Egypt; and more particularly upon thoſe very curious ones in the iſland of Philæ, on the borders of Ethiopia, which are, probably, the moſt ancient monuments of art now extant; at leaſt, if we except the neighbouring temples of Thebes. Both were certainly built when that city was the ſeat of wealth and empire, which it was, even to a proverb, during the Trojan war.[2] How long it had then been ſo, we can form no conjecture; but that it ſoon after declined, there can be little doubt; for, when the Greeks, in the reign of Pſammeticus (generally computed to have been about 530 years after the Siege of Troy), firſt became perſonally acquainted with the interior parts of that country, Memphis had been for many ages its capital, and Thebes was in a manner deſerted. Homer makes Achilles ſpeak of its immenſe wealth and grandeur, as a matter generally known and acknowledged; ſo that it muſt have been of long eſtabliſhed fame, even in that remote age. We may therefore fairly conclude, that the greateſt part of the ſuperb edifices now remaining, were executed, or at leaſt begun, before that time; many of them being ſuch as could not have been finiſhed, but in a long term of years, even if we ſuppoſe the wealth and power of the ancient kings of Egypt to have equalled that of the greateſt of the Roman emperors. The finiſhing of Trajan's column in three years, has been juſtly thought a very extraordinary effort; for there muſt have been, at leaſt, three hundred good ſculptors employed upon it: and yet, in the neighbourhood of Thebes, we find whole temples of enormous magnitude, covered with figures carved in the hard and brittle granite of the Libyan mountains, inſtead of the ſoft marbles of

[1] See Plate xviii. Fig. 1, from Pignorius.

[2] Hom. *Iliad.* 1, ver. 381.

Paros and Carrara. Travellers, who have viſited that country have given us imperfect accounts of the manner in which they are finiſhed; but, if one may judge by thoſe upon the obeliſc of Rameſes, now lying in fragments at Rome, they are infinitely more laboured than thoſe of Trajan's Column. An eminent ſculptor, with whom I examined that obeliſc, was decidedly of opinion, that they muſt have been finiſhed in the manner of gems, with a graving tool; it appearing impoſſible for a chiſel to cut red granite with ſo much neatneſs and preciſion. The age of Rameſes is uncertain; but the generality of modern chronologers ſuppoſe that he was the ſame perſon as Seſoſtris, and reigned at Thebes about 1500 years before the Chriſtian æra, and about 300 before the Siege of Troy. Their dates are however merely conjectural, when applied to events of this remote antiquity. The Egyptian prieſts of the Auguſtan age had a tradition, which they pretended to confirm by records, written in hieroglyphics, that their country had once poſſeſt the dominion of all Aſia and Ethiopia, which their king Ramſes, or Rameſes, had conquered.[1] Though this account may be exaggerated, there can be no doubt, from the buildings ſtill remaining, but that they were once at the head of a great empire; for all hiſtorians agree that they abhorred navigation, had no ſea-port, and never enjoyed the benefits of foreign commerce, without which, Egypt could have no means of acquiring a ſufficient quantity of ſuperfluous wealth to erect ſuch expenſive monuments, unleſs from tributary provinces; eſpecially if all the lower part of it was an uncultivated bog, as Herodotus, with great appearance of probability, tells us it anciently was. Yet Homer, who appears to have known all that could be known in his age, and tranſmitted to poſterity all he knew, ſeems to have heard nothing of their empire or conqueſts. Theſe were obliterated and forgotten by the riſe of

[1] Tacit. *Ann.* lib. ii. c. 60.

new empires; but the renown of their ancient wealth ſtill continued, and afforded a familiar object of compariſon, as that of the Mogul does at this day, though he is become one of the pooreſt ſovereigns in the world.

But far as theſe Egyptian remains lead us into unknown ages, the ſymbols they contain appear not to have been invented in that country, but to have been copied from thoſe of ſome other people, ſtill anterior, who dwelt on the other ſide of the Erythræan ocean. One of the moſt obvious of them is the hooded ſnake, which is a reptile peculiar to the ſouth-eaſtern parts of Aſia, but which I found repreſented, with great accuracy, upon the obeliſc of Rameſes, and have alſo obſerved frequently repeated on the Iſiac Table, and other ſymbolical works of the Egyptians. It is alſo diſtinguiſhable among the ſculptures in the ſacred caverns of the iſland of Elephanta;[1] and appears frequently added, as a characteriſtic ſymbol, to many of the idols of the modern Hindoos, whoſe abſurd tales concerning its meaning are related at length by M. Sonnerat; but they are not worth repeating. Probably we ſhould be able to trace the connexion through many more inſtances, could we obtain accurate drawings of the ruins of Upper Egypt.

By comparing the columns which the Egyptians formed in imitation of the Nelumbo plant, with each other, and obſerving their different modes of decorating them, we may diſcover the origin of that order of architecture which the Greeks called Corinthian, from the place of its ſuppoſed invention. We firſt find the plain bell, or ſeed-veſſel, uſed as a capital, without any further alteration than being a little expanded at bottom, to give it ſtability.[2] In the next inſtance, the ſame ſeed-veſſel is ſurrounded by the leaves of ſome other plant;[3] which is varied in different capitals according

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[1] Niebuhr, *Voyage*, vol. ii.

[2] See Plate xix. Fig. 6, from Norden.

[3] See Plate xix. Fig. 7, from Norden.

to the different meanings intended to be expreſſed by theſe additional ſymbols. The Greeks decorated it in the ſame manner, with the leaves of the acanthus, and other ſorts of foliage; whilſt various other ſymbols of their religion were introduced as ornaments on the entablature, inſtead of being carved upon the walls of the cell, or ſhafts of the columns. One of theſe, which occurs moſt frequently, is that which the architects call the honey-ſuckle, but which, as Sir Joſeph Banks (to whom I am indebted for all that I have ſaid concerning the Lotus) clearly ſhewed me, muſt be meant for the young ſhoots of this plant, viewed horizontally, juſt when they have burſt the ſeed-veſſel, and are upon the point of falling out of it. The ornament is variouſly compoſed on different buildings; it being the practice of the Greeks to make vegetable, as well as animal monſters, by combining different ſymbolical plants together, and blending them into one; whence they are often extremely difficult to be diſcovered. But the ſpecimen I have given, is ſo ſtrongly characteriſed, that it cannot eaſily be miſtaken.[1] It appears on many Greek medals with the animal ſymbols and perſonified attributes of the Deity; which firſt led me to imagine that it was not a mere ornament, but had ſome myſtic meaning, as almoſt every decoration employed upon their ſacred edifices indiſputably had.

The ſquare area, over which the Lotus is ſpread, in the Indian monument before mentioned, was occaſionally floated with water; which, by means of a forcing machine, was firſt thrown in a ſpout upon the *Lingam*. The pouring of water upon the ſacred ſymbols, is a mode of worſhip very much practiſed by the Hindoos, particularly in their devotions to the Bull and the *Lingam*. Its meaning has been already explained, in the inſtance of the Greek figure of Pan, repreſented in the act of paying the ſame kind of worſhip to the ſymbol of his own procreative power.[2] The areas of the

[1] Plate xix. Fig. 3, from the Ionian Antiquities, Ch. ii. Pl. xiii.
[2] See Plate v. Fig. 1.

Greek temples were, in like manner, in ſome inſtances, floated with water; of which I ſhall ſoon give an example. We alſo find, not unfrequently, little portable temples, nearly of the ſame form, and of Greek workmanſhip: the areas of which were equally floated by means of a fountain in the middle, and which, by the figures in relief that adorn the ſides, appear evidently to have been dedicated to the ſame worſhip of Priapus, or the *Lingam*.[1] The ſquare area is likewiſe impreſſed upon many ancient Greek medals, ſometimes divided into four, and ſometimes into a greater number of compartments.[2] Antiquarians have ſuppoſed this to be merely the impreſſion of ſomething put under the coin, to make it receive the ſtroke of the die more ſteadily; but, beſides that it is very ill adapted to this purpoſe, we find many coins which appear, evidently, to have received the ſtroke of the hammer (for ſtriking with a balance is of late date) on the ſide marked with this ſquare. But what puts the queſtion out of all doubt, is, that impreſſions of exactly the ſame kind are found upon the little Taliſmans, or myſtic paſtes, taken out of the Egyptian Mummies, which have no impreſſion whatever on the reverſe.[3] On a little braſs medal of Syracuſe, we alſo find the aſteriſc of the Sun placed in the centre of the ſquare, in the ſame manner as the *Lingam* is on the Indian monument.[4] Why this quadrangular form was adopted, in preference to any other, we have no means of diſcovering, from any known Greek or Egyptian ſculptures; but from this little Indian temple, we find that the four corners were adapted to four of the

[1] See Plate XIV. from one in the collection of Mr. Townley.

[2] See Plate XIII. Fig. 1, from one of Selinus, and Fig. 3, from one of Syracuſe, belonging to me.

[3] See Plate XIII. Fig. 2, from one in the collection of Mr. Townley.

[4] See Plate XIII. Fig. 3. The medal is extremely common, and the quadrangular impreſſion is obſervable upon a great number of the more ancient Greek medals, generally with ſome ſymbol of the Deity in the centre. See thoſe of Athens, Lyttus, Maronea, &c.

ſubordinate deities, or perſonified modes of action of the great univerſal Generator, repreſented by the ſymbol in the middle, to which the others are repreſented as paying their adorations, with geſtures of humility and reſpect.[1]

What is the preciſe meaning of theſe four ſymbolical figures, it is ſcarcely poſſible for us to diſcover, from the ſmall fragments of the myſtic learning of the ancients which are now extant. That they were however intended as perſonified attributes, we can have no doubt; for we are taught by the venerable authority of the *Bagvat Geeta*, that all the ſubordinate deities were ſuch, or elſe canoniſed men, which theſe figures evidently are not. As for the mythological tales now current in India, they throw the ſame degree of light upon the ſubject, as Ovid's Metamorphoſes do on the ancient theology of Greece; that is, juſt enough to bewilder and perplex thoſe who give up their attention to it. The ancient author before cited is deſerving of more credit; but he has ſaid very little upon the ſymbolical worſhip. His work, nevertheleſs, clearly proves that its principles were preciſely the ſame as thoſe of the Greeks and Egyptians, among whoſe remains of art or literature, we may, perhaps, find ſome probable analogies to aid conjecture. The elephant is, however, a new ſymbol in the weſt; the Greeks never having ſeen one of thoſe animals before the expedition of Alexander,[2] although the uſe of ivory was familiar among them even in the days of Homer. Upon this Indian monument the head of the elephant is placed upon the body of a man with four hands, two of which are held up as prepared to ſtrike with the inſtruments they hold, and the other two pointed down as in adoration of the *Lingam*. This figure is called Gonnis and Pollear by the modern Hindoos; but neither of theſe names is to be found in the *Geeta*, where the deity only ſays, *that the learned behold him*

[1] See Plate xii.

[2] Pauſan. lib. i. c. 12.

alike in the reverend Brahman perfected in knowledge, in the ox, and in the elephant. What peculiar attributes the elephant was meant to expreſs, the ancient writer has not told us; but, as the characteriſtic properties of this animal are ſtrength and ſagacity, we may conclude that his image was intended to repreſent ideas ſomewhat ſimilar to thoſe which the Greeks repreſented by that of Minerva, who was worſhipped as the goddeſs of force and wiſdom, of war and counſel. The Indian Gonnis is indeed male, and Minerva female; but this difference of ſexes, however important it may be in phyſical, is of very little conſequence in metaphyſical beings, Minerva being, like the other Greek deities, either male or female, or both.[1] On the medals of the Ptolemies, under whom the Indian ſymbols became familiar to the Greeks through the commerce of Alexandria, we find her repeatedly repreſented with the elephant's ſkin upon her head, inſtead of a helmet; and with a countenance between male and female, ſuch as the artiſt would naturally give her, when he endeavoured to blend the Greek and Indian ſymbols, and mould them into one.[2] Minerva is ſaid by the Greek mythologiſts to have been born without a mother, from the head of Jupiter, who was delivered of her by the aſſiſtance of Vulcan. This, in plain language, means no more than that ſhe was a pure emanation of the divine mind, operating by means of the univerſal agent fire, and not, like others of the allegorical perſonages, ſprung from any of the particular operations of the deity upon external matter. Hence ſhe is ſaid to be next in dignity to her father, and to be endowed with all his attributes;[3] for, as wiſdom is the moſt exalted quality of the mind, and the divine mind the perfection of wiſdom, all its attributes are the attributes of wiſdom,

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[1] Αρσεν και θηλυς εφυς. Orph. εις Αθην.

[2] See Plate XIII. Fig. 5, engraved from one belonging to me.

[3] Hor. lib. i. Od. 12. Callimach. εις Αθην.

under whoſe direction its power is always exerted. Strength and wiſdom therefore, when conſidered as attributes of the deity, are in fact one and the ſame. The Greek Minerva is uſually repreſented with the ſpear uplifted in her hand, in the ſame manner as the Indian Gonnis holds the battle-axe.[1] Both are given to denote the deſtroying power equally belonging to divine wiſdom, as the creative or preſerving. The ſtatue of Jupiter at Labranda in Caria held in his hand the battle-axe, inſtead of thunder; and on the medals of Tenedos and Thyatira, we find it repreſented alone as the ſymbol of the deity, in the ſame manner as the thunder is upon a great variety of other medals. *I am the thunderbolt*, ſays the deity in the *Bagvat Geeta*;[2] and when we find this ſuppoſed engine of divine vengeance upon the medals, we muſt not imagine that it is meant for the weapon of the ſupreme god, but for the ſymbol of his deſtroying attribute. What inſtrument the Gonnis holds in his other hand, is not eaſily aſcertained, it being a little injured by the carriage. In one of thoſe pointed downwards he holds the Lotus flower, to denote that he has the direction of the paſſive powers of production; and in the other, a golden ring or diſc, which, I ſhall ſoon ſhew, was the ſymbol by which many nations of the Eaſt repreſented the ſun. His head is drawn into a conical, or pyramidal form, and ſurrounded by an ornament which evidently repreſents flames; the Indians, as well as the Greeks, looking upon fire as the eſſence of all active power; whence perpetual lamps are kept burning in the holy of holies of all the great pagodas in India, as they were anciently in the temple of Jupiter Ammon, and many others both Greek and Barbarian;[3] and the incarnate god in the *Bagvat Geeta* ſays, *I am the fire reſiding in the bodies of all things which have life.*[4] Upon the forehead of the Gonnis is a

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[1] See Plate XIII. Fig. 11, from a medal of Seleucus I. belonging to me.
[2] Page 86. [3] See Plut. *de Orac. defect.* [4] Page 113.

creſcent repreſenting the moon, whoſe power over the waters of the ocean cauſed her to be regarded as the ſovereign of the great nutritive element, and whoſe mild rays, being accompanied by the refreſhing dews and cooling breezes of the night, made her naturally appear to the inhabitants of hot countries as the comforter and reſtorer of the earth. *I am the moon* (ſays the deity in the Bagvat Geeta) *whoſe nature it is to give the quality of taſte and reliſh, and to cheriſh the herbs and plants of the field.*[1] The light of the ſun, moon, and fire, were however all but one, and equally emanations of the ſupreme being. *Know,* ſays the deity in the ſame ancient dialogue, *that the light which proceedeth from the ſun, and illuminateth the world, and the light which is in the moon and in the fire, are mine. I pervade all things in nature, and guard them with my beams.*[2] In the figure now under conſideration a kind of preeminence ſeems to be given to the moon over the ſun; proceeding probably from the Hindoos not poſſeſſing the true ſolar ſyſtem, which muſt however have been known to the people from whom they learnt to calculate eclipſes, which they ſtill continue to do, though upon principles not underſtood by themſelves. They now place the earth in the centre of the univerſe, as the later Greeks did, among whom we alſo find the ſame preference given to the lunar ſymbol; Jupiter being repreſented, on a medal of Antiochus VIII., with the creſcent upon his head, and the aſteriſc of the ſun in his hand.[3] In a paſſage of the *Bagvat Geeta* already cited we find the elephant and bull mentioned together as ſymbols of the ſame kind; and on a medal of Seleucus Nicator we find them united by the horns of the one being placed on the head of the other.[4] The later Greeks alſo ſometimes employed the elephant as the univerſal ſymbol of the deity; in which ſenſe he is repreſented

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[1] Page 113. [2] Ibid. [3] Plate XIII. Fig. 10, from one belonging to me.
[4] See Plate XIII. Fig 9, and Geſner, *Num. Reg. Syr.* Tab. VIII. Fig. 23.

on a medal of Antiochus VI. bearing the torch, the emblem of the univerſal agent, fire, in his proboſcis, and the cornucopia, the reſult of its exertion, in his tail.[1]

On another corner of the little Indian pagoda, is a figure with four heads, all of the ſame pointed form as that of the Gonnis. This I take to repreſent Brahma, to whom the Hindoos attribute four mouths, and ſay that with them he dictated the four Beads, or Veads, the myſtic volumes of their religion.[2] The four heads are turned different ways, but exactly reſemble each other. The beards have been painted black, and are ſharp and pointed, like thoſe of goats, which the Greeks gave to Pan, and his ſubordinate emanations, the Fauns and Satyrs. Hence I am inclined to believe, that the Brahma of the Indians is the ſame as the Pan of the Greeks; that is, the creative ſpirit of the deity transfuſed through matter, and acting in the four elements repreſented by the four heads. The Indians indeed admit of a fifth element, as the Greeks did likewiſe; but this is never claſſed with the reſt, being of an ætherial and more exalted nature, and belonging peculiarly to the deity. *Some call it heaven, ſome light, and ſome æther*, ſays Plutarch.[3] The Hindoos now call it *Occus*, by which they ſeem to mean pure ætherial light or fire.

This mode of repreſenting the allegorical perſonages of religion with many heads and limbs to expreſs their various attributes, and extenſive operation, is now univerſal in the Eaſt,[4] and ſeems anciently not to have been unknown to the Greeks, at leaſt if we may judge by the epithets uſed by Pindar and other early poets.[5] The union of two ſymbolical heads is common among the ſpecimens of their art now extant, as may be ſeen upon the medals of

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1 See Plate XIII. Fig 8, and Geſner, *Num. Reg. Syr.* Tab. VIII. Fig. 1.
2 *Bagvat Geeta*, Note 41. 3 *Ei* apud Delph.
4 See Kæmpfer, Chappe d'Auteroche, Sonnerat, &c.
5 Such as ἑκατογκεφαλος, εκατοντακαρανος, εκατογχειρος, &c.

Syracuſe, Marſeilles, and many other cities. Upon a gem of this ſort in the collection of Mr. Townley, the ſame ideas which are expreſſed on the Indian pagoda by the diſtinct figures Brahma and Gonnis, are expreſſed by the united heads of Ammon and Minerva. Ammon, as before obſerved, was the Pan of the Greeks, and Minerva is here evidently the ſame as the Gonnis, being repreſented after the Indian manner, with the elephant's ſkin on her head, inſtead of a helmet.[1] Both theſe heads appear ſeparate upon different medals of the Ptolemies,[2] under one of whom this gem was probably engraved, Alexandria having been for a long time the great centre of religions, as well as of trade and ſcience.

Next to the figure of Brahma on the pagoda is the cow of plenty, or the female emblem of the generative or nutritive power of the earth; and at the other corner, next to the Gonnis, is the figure of a woman, with a head of the ſame conic or pyramidal form, and upon the front of it a flame of fire, from which hangs a creſcent.[3] This ſeems to be the female perſonification of the divine attributes repreſented by the Gonnis or Pollear; for the Hindoos, like the Greeks, worſhip the deity under both ſexes, though they do not attempt to unite both in one figure. *I am the father and the mother of the world*, ſays the incarnate god in the *Bagvat Geeta*.[4] *Amongſt cattle*, adds he in a ſubſequent part, *I am the cow Kamadhook. I am the prolific Kandarp, the god of love.*[5] Theſe two ſentences, by being placed together, ſeem to imply ſome relation between this *god of love* and the *cow Kamadhook;* and, were we to read the words without punctuation, as they are in all ancient orthography, we ſhould think the author placed the god of love amongſt the cattle; which he would naturally do,

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[1] See Plate xiii. Fig. 7.
[2] See Plate xiii. Fig. 5 and 6.
[3] See Plate xii.
[4] Page 80.
[5] Page 86.

if it were the cuſtom of his religion to repreſent him by an animal ſymbol. Among the Egyptians, as before obſerved, the cow was the ſymbol of Venus, the goddeſs of love, and paſſive generative power of nature. On the capitals of one of the temples of Philæ we ſtill find the heads of this goddeſs repreſented of a mixed form; the horns and the ears of the cow being joined to the beautiful features of a woman in the prime of life;[1] ſuch as the Greeks attributed to that Venus, whom they worſhipped as the mother of the prolific god of love, Cupid, who was the perſonification of animal deſire or concupiſcence, as the Orphic love, the father of gods and men, was of univerſal attraction. The Greeks, who repreſented the mother under the form of a beautiful woman, naturally repreſented the ſon under the form of a beautiful boy; but a people who repreſented the mother under the form of a cow, would as naturally repreſent the ſon under the form of a calf. This ſeems to be the caſe with the Hindoos, as well as with the Egyptians; wherefore Kandarp may be very properly placed among the cattle.

By following this analogy, we may come to the true meaning of a much-celebrated object of devotion, recorded by another ancient writer, of a more venerable character. When the Iſraelites grew clamorous on account of the abſence of Moſes, and called upon Aaron to make them a god to go before them, he ſet up a golden calf; to which the people ſacrificed and feaſted, and then roſe up (as the tranſlator ſays) *to play;* but in the original the term is more ſpecific, and means, in its plain direct ſenſe, that particular ſort of play which requires the concurrence of both ſexes,[2] and which was therefore a very proper concluſion of a ſacrifice to Cupid, though highly diſpleaſing to the god who had brought them out of Egypt. The Egyptian mythologiſts, who appeared to have in-

[1] See Plate XVIII. Fig. 3.

[2] *Exod.* xxxii.

vented this ſecondary deity of love, were probably the inventors likewiſe of a ſecondary Priapus, who was the perſonification of that particular generative faculty, which ſprings from animal deſire, as the primary Priapus was of the great generative principle of the univerſe. Hence, in the allegories of the poets, this deity is ſaid to be a ſon of Bacchus and Venus; that is, the reſult of the active and paſſive generative powers of nature. The ſtory of his being the ſon of a Grecian conqueror, and born at Lampſacus, ſeems to be a corruption of this allegory.

Of all the nations of antiquity the Perſians were the moſt ſimple and direct in the worſhip of the creator. They were the puritans of the heathen world, and not only rejected all images of god or his agents, but alſo temples and altars, according to Herodotus,[1] whoſe authority I prefer to any other, becauſe he had an opportunity of converſing with them before they had adopted any foreign ſuperſtitions.[2] As they worſhipped the ætherial fire without any medium of perſonification or allegory, they thought it unworthy of the dignity of the god to be repreſented by any definite form, or circumſcribed to any particular place. The univerſe was his temple, and the all-pervading element of fire his only ſymbol. The Greeks appear originally to have held ſimilar opinions; for they were long without ſtatues;[3] and Pauſanias ſpeaks of a temple at Sicyon, built by Adraſtus,[4] who lived an age before the Trojan war; which conſiſted of columns only, without wall or roof, like the Celtic temples of our Northern anceſtors, or the Pyrætheia of the Perſians, which were circles of ſtones, in the centre of which was kindled the ſacred fire,[5] the ſymbol of the god. Homer frequently ſpeaks of places of worſhip conſiſting of an area and altar only (τεμενος βωμος τε),

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[1] Lib. i.

[2] Hyde, Anquetil, and other modern writers, have given us the operoſe ſuperſtitions of the preſent Parſees for the ſimple theiſm of the ancient Perſians.

[3] Pauſan. lib. vii. and ix. [4] Lib. ii. [5] Strab. lib. xv.

which were probably incloſures like theſe of the Perſians, with an altar in the centre. The temples dedicated to the creator Bacchus, which the Greek architects called *hypæthral*, ſeem to have been anciently of the ſame kind; whence probably came the title περικιονιος (*ſurrounded with columns*) attributed to that god in the Orphic litanies.[1] The remains of one of theſe are ſtill extant at Puzzuoli near Naples, which the inhabitants call the Temple of Serapis: but the ornaments of grapes, vaſes, &c. found among the ruins, prove it to have been of Bacchus. Serapis was indeed the ſame deity worſhipped under another form, being equally a perſonification of the ſun.[2] The architecture is of the Roman times; but the ground plan is probably that of a very ancient one, which this was made to replace; for it exactly reſembles that of a Celtic temple in Zeeland, publiſhed in Stukeley's *Itinerary*.[3] The ranges of ſquare buildings which incloſe it are not properly parts of the temple, but apartments of the prieſts, places for victims and ſacred utenſils, and chapels dedicated to ſubordinate deities introduced by a more complicated and corrupt worſhip, and probably unknown to the founders of the original edifice.[4] The portico, which runs parallel with theſe buildings,[5] incloſed the *temenos*, or area of ſacred ground, which in the *pyrætheia* of the Perſians was circular, but is here quadrangular, as in the Celtic temple in Zeeland, and the Indian pagoda before deſcribed. In the centre was the holy of holies, the ſeat of the god, conſiſting of a circle of columns raiſed upon a baſement, without roof or walls, in the middle of which was probably the ſacred fire, or ſome other ſymbol of the deity.[6] The ſquare area in which it ſtood, was ſunk below the natural level of the ground,[7] and, like that of the little Indian pagoda, appears to have

[1] Hymn. 46. [2] Diodor. Sic. lib. 1. Macrob. *Sat.* lib. i. c. 20.
[3] See Plate xv. Fig. 1 and 2, and Plate xiii. Fig. 4.
[4] Plate xv. Fig. 2, *a*—*a*. [5] Plate xv. Fig. 2, *b*—*b*.
[6] See Plate xv. Fig. 1, *a*, and Fig. 2, *c*. [7] See Plate xv. Fig. 1, *b*—*b*.

been occaſionally floated with water, the drains and conduits being ſtill to be ſeen,[1] as alſo ſeveral fragments of ſculpture repreſenting waves, ſerpents, and various aquatic animals, which once adorned the baſement.[2] The Bacchus περικιονιος here worſhipped, was, as we learn from the Orphic hymn above cited, the ſun in his character of extinguiſher of the fires which once pervaded the earth. This he was ſuppoſed to have done by exhaling the waters of the ocean, and ſcattering them over the land, which was thus ſuppoſed to have acquired its proper temperature and fertility. For this reaſon the ſacred fire, the eſſential image of the god, was ſurrounded by the element which was principally employed in giving effect to the beneficial exertions of his great attribute.

Theſe Orphic temples were, without doubt, emblems of that fundamental principle of the myſtic faith of the ancients, the ſolar ſyſtem; fire, the eſſence of the deity, occupying the place of the ſun, and the columns ſurrounding it as the ſubordinate parts of the univerſe. Remains of the worſhip of fire continued among the Greeks even to the laſt, as appears from the ſacred fires kept in the interior apartment, or holy of holies, of almoſt all their temples, and places of worſhip: and, though the Ammonian Platonics, the laſt profeſſors of the ancient religion, endeavoured to conceive ſomething beyond the reach of ſenſe and perception, as the eſſence of their ſupreme god; yet, when they wanted to illuſtrate and explain the modes of action of this metaphyſical abſtraction, who was more ſubtle than intelligence itſelf, they do it by images and compariſons of light and fire.[3]

From a paſſage of Hecatæus, preſerved by Diodorus Siculus, I think it is evident that Stonehenge, and all the other monuments of the ſame kind found in the North, belonged to the ſame religion,

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[1] See Plate xv. Fig. 1, *c*—*c*. [2] See Plate xvii. Fig. 1.

[3] See Proclus *in Theol. Platon.* lib. i. c. 19.

which appears, at ſome remote period, to have prevailed over the whole northern hemiſphere. According to that ancient hiſtorian, *the Hyperboreans inhabited an iſland beyond Gaul, as large as Sicily, in which Apollo was worſhipped in a circular temple conſiderable for its ſize and riches.*[1] Apollo, we know, in the language of the Greeks of that age, can mean no other than the ſun, which, according to Cæſar, was worſhipped by the Germans, when they knew of no other deities except fire and the moon.[2] The iſland I think can be no other than Britain, which at that time was only known to the Greeks by the vague reports of Phœnician mariners, ſo uncertain and obſcure, that Herodotus, the moſt inquiſitive and credulous of hiſtorians, doubts of its exiſtence.[3] The circular temple of the ſun being noticed in ſuch ſlight and imperfect accounts, proves that it muſt have been ſomething ſingular and important; for, if it had been an inconſiderable ſtructure, it would not have been mentioned at all; and, if there had been many ſuch in the country, the hiſtorian would not have employed the ſingular number. Stonehenge has certainly been a circular temple, nearly the ſame as that already deſcribed of the Bacchus περικιονιος at Puzzuoli, except that in the latter the nice execution, and beautiful ſymmetry of the parts, are in every reſpect the reverſe of the rude but majeſtic ſimplicity of the former; in the original deſign they differ but in the form of the area.[4] It may therefore be reaſonably ſuppoſed, that we have

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[1] Ναον αξιολογον, αναθημασι πολλοις κεκοσμημενον, σφαιροειδη τωσχηματι. Diod. Sic. lib. ii.

[2] *De B. Gal.* lib. vi. [3] Lib. iii. c. 15.

[4] See Plate xv. Fig. 2 and 3. I have preferred Webb's plan of Stonehenge to Stukeley's and Smith's, after comparing each with the ruins now exiſting. They differ materially only in the cell, which Webb ſuppoſes to have been a hexagon, and Stukeley a ſection of an ellipſis. The poſition of the altar is merely conjectural; wherefore I have omitted it; and I much doubt whether either be right in their plans of the cell, which ſeems, as in other Druidical temples, to have been meant for a circle, but incorrectly executed.

ſtill the ruins of the identical temple deſcribed by Hecatæus, who, being an Aſiatic Greek, might have received his information from ſome Phœnician merchant, who had viſited the interior parts of Britain when trading there for tin. Macrobius mentions a temple of the ſame kind and form upon Mount Zilmiſſus in Thrace, dedicated to the ſun under the title of Bacchus Sebazius.[1] The large obeliſcs of ſtone found in many parts of the North, ſuch as thoſe at Rudſtone,[2] and near Boroughbridge in Yorkſhire,[3] belong to the ſame religion; obeliſcs being, as Pliny obſerves, ſacred to the ſun, whoſe rays they repreſented both by their form and name.[4] An ancient medal of Apollonia in Illyria, belonging to the Muſeum of the late Dr. Hunter, has the head of Apollo crowned with laurel on one ſide, and on the other an obeliſc terminating in a croſs, the leaſt explicit repreſentation of the male organs of generation.[5] This has exactly the appearance of one of thoſe croſſes, which were erected in church-yards and croſs roads for the adoration of devout perſons, when devotion was more prevalent than at preſent. Many of theſe were undoubtedly erected before the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, and converted, together with their worſhippers, to the true faith. Anciently they repreſented the generative power of light, the eſſence of God; *for God is light, and never but in unapproached light dwelt from eternity*, ſays Milton, who in this, as well as many other inſtances, has followed the Ammonian Platonics, who were both the reſtorers and corrupters of the ancient theology. They reſtored it from the maſs of poetical mythology, under which it was buried, but refined and ſublimated it with abſtract metaphyſics, which ſoared as far above human reaſon as the poetical

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[1] *Sat.* lib. i. c. 18.
[2] *Archæologia*, vol. v.
[3] Now called the Devil's Arrows. See Stukeley's *Itin.* vol. i. Table xc.
[4] *Hiſt. Nat.* lib. xxxvi. ſec. 14.
[5] Plate x. Fig. 1, and *Nummi Pop. & Urb.* Table x. Fig. 7.

mythology ſunk below it. From the ancient ſolar obeliſcs came the ſpires and pinnacles with which our churches are ſtill decorated, ſo many ages after their myſtic meaning has been forgotten. Happily for the beauty of theſe edifices, it was forgotten; otherwiſe the reformers of the laſt century would have deſtroyed them, as they did the croſſes and images; for they might with equal propriety have been pronounced heatheniſh and prophane.

As the obeliſc was the ſymbol of light, ſo was the pyramid of fire, deemed to be eſſentially the ſame. The Egyptians, among whom theſe forms are the moſt frequent, held that there were two oppoſite powers in the world, perpetually acting contrary to each other, the one creating, and the other deſtroying: the former they called Oſiris, and the latter Typhon.[1] By the contention of theſe two, that mixture of good and evil, which, according to ſome verſes of Euripides quoted by Plutarch,[2] conſtituted the harmony of the world, was ſuppoſed to be produced. This opinion of the neceſſary mixture of good and evil was, according to Plutarch, of immemorial antiquity, derived from the oldeſt theologiſts and legiſlators, not only in traditions and reports, but in myſteries and ſacrifices, both Greek and barbarian.[3] Fire was the efficient principle of both, and, according to ſome of the Egyptians, that ætherial fire which concentred in the ſun. This opinion Plutarch controverts, ſaying that Typhon, the evil or deſtroying power, was a terreſtrial or material fire, eſſentially different from the ætherial. But Plutarch here argues from his own prejudices, rather than from the evidence of the caſe; for he believed in an original evil principle coeternal with the good, and acting in perpetual oppoſition to it; an error into which men have been led by forming falſe notions of good and evil, and conſidering them as

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[1] Plutarch. *de Is. & Os.* [2] Ibid., p. 455, Ed. Reiſkii.
[3] Ibid., Ed. Reiſkii.

ſelf-exiſting inherent properties, inſtead of accidental modifications, variable with every circumſtance with which cauſes and events are connected. This error, though adopted by individuals, never formed a part either of the theology or mythology of Greece. Homer, in the beautiful allegory of the two caſks, makes Jupiter, the ſupreme god, the diſtributor of both good and evil.[1] The name of Jupiter, Ζευς, was originally one of the titles or epithets of the ſun, ſignifying, according to its etymology, *aweful* or *terrible*;[2] in which ſenſe it is uſed in the Orphic litanies.[3] Pan, the univerſal ſubſtance, is called the horned Jupiter (Ζευς ὁ κεραστης); and in an Orphic fragment preſerved by Macrobius[4] the names of Jupiter and Bacchus appear to be only titles of the all-creating power of the ſun.

Αγλαε Ζευ, Διονυσε, πατεζ ποντου, πατεζ αιης,
Ἡλιε παγγενετοζ.

In another fragment preſerved by the ſame author,[5] the name of Pluto, Αιδης, is uſed as a title of the ſame deity; who appears therefore to have preſided over the dead as well as over the living, and to have been the lord of deſtruction as well as creation and preſervation. We accordingly find that in one of the Orphic litanies now extant, he is expreſſly called the giver of life, and the deſtroyer.[6]

The Egyptians repreſented Typhon, the deſtroying power, under the figure of the hippopotamus or river-horſe, the moſt fierce and deſtructive animal they knew;[7] and the Chorus in the *Bacchæ* of Euripides invoke their inſpirer Bacchus to appear under the form of a bull, a many-headed ſerpent, or flaming lion;[8] which ſhews that the moſt bloody and deſtructive, as well as the moſt

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[1] *Il.* ω, v. 527. [2] Damm. *Lex. Etymol.* [3] Hymn. x. v. 13.
[4] *Sat.* lib. i. c. 23. [5] *Sat.* lib. i. c. 8. [6] Hymn. lxxii. *Ed. Geſn.*
[7] Plutarch. *de Is. & Os.* [8] V. 1015.

uſeful of animals, was employed by the Greeks to repreſent ſome perſonified attribute of the god. M. D'Hancarville has alſo obſerved, that the lion is frequently employed by the ancient artiſts as a ſymbol of the ſun;[1] and I am inclined to believe that it was to expreſs this deſtroying power, no leſs requiſite to preſerve the harmony of the univerſe than the generating. In moſt of the monuments of ancient art where the lion is repreſented, he appears with expreſſions of rage and violence, and often in the act of killing and devouring ſome other animal. On an ancient ſarcophagus found in Sicily he is repreſented devouring a horſe,[2] and on the medals of Velia in Italy, devouring a deer;[3] the former, as ſacred to Neptune, repreſented the ſea; and the latter, as ſacred to Diana, the produce of the earth; for Diana was the fertility of the earth perſonified, and therefore is ſaid to have received her nymphs or productive miniſters from the ocean, the ſource of fecundity.[4] The lion, therefore, in the former inſtance, appears as a ſymbol of the ſun exhaling the waters; and in the latter, as withering and putrifying the produce of the earth. On the frieze of the Temple of Apollo Didymæus, near Miletus, are monſters compoſed of the mixt forms of the goat and lion, reſting their fore feet upon the lyre of the god, which ſtands between them.[5] The goat, as I have already ſhewn, repreſented the creative attribute, and the lyre, harmony and order; therefore, if we admit that the lion repreſented the deſtroying attribute, this compoſition will ſignify, in the ſymbolical language of ſculpture, the harmony and order of the univerſe preſerved by the regular and periodical operations of the

[1] *Recherches ſur les Arts.* See alſo Macrob. *Sat.* i. c. 21.

[2] Houel, *Voyage de la Sicile.* Plate XXXVI.

[3] Plate IX. Fig. 5, engraved from one belonging to me.

[4] Callimach. *Hymn. ad. Dian.* v. 13. *Genitor Nympharum Oceanus.* Catullus *in Gell.* v. 84.

[5] *Ionian Antiquities,* vol. i. c. 3. Plate IX.

creative and deſtructive powers. This is a notion to which men would be naturally led by obſerving the common order and progreſſion of things. The ſame heat of the ſun, which ſcorched and withered the graſs in ſummer, ripened the fruits in autumn, and cloathed the earth with verdure in the ſpring. In one ſeaſon it dried up the waters from the earth, and in another returned them in rain. It cauſed fermentation and putrefaction, which deſtroy one generation of plants and animals, and produce another in conſtant and regular ſucceſſion. This contention between the powers of creation and deſtruction is repreſented on an ancient medal of Acanthus, in the muſeum of the late Dr. Hunter, by a combat between the bull and lion.[1] The bull alone is repreſented on other medals in exactly the ſame attitude and geſture as when fighting with the lion;[2] whence I conclude that the lion is there underſtood. On the medals of Celenderis, the goat appears inſtead of the bull in exactly the ſame attitude of ſtruggle and contention, but without the lion;[3] and in a curious one of very ancient but excellent workmanſhip, belonging to me, the ivy of Bacchus is placed over the back of the goat, to denote the power which he repreſents.[4]

The mutual operation which was the reſult of this contention, was ſignified, in the mythological tales of the poets, by the loves of Mars and Venus, the one the active power of deſtruction, and the other the paſſive power of generation. From their union is ſaid to have ſprung the goddeſs *Harmony*, who was the phyſical order of the univerſe perſonified. The fable of Ceres and Proſerpine is the ſame allegory inverted; Ceres being the prolific power

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[1] Plate IX. Fig. 4, & *Nummi Vet. Pop. & Urb.* Table I. Fig. 16.

[2] Plate IX. Fig. 12, from one of Aſpendus in the ſame Collection. See *Nummi Vet. Pop. & Urb.* Table VIII. Fig. 20.

[3] *Nummi Vet. Pop. & Urb.* Table XVI. Fig. 13.

[4] Plate IX. Fig. 13.

of the earth perſonified, and hence called by the Greeks *Mother Earth* (Γη or Δη-μητης). The Latin name Ceres alſo ſignifying *Earth*, the Roman C being the ſame originally, both in figure and power as the Greek Γ,[1] which Homer often uſes as a mere guttural aſpirate, and adds it arbitrarily to his words, to make them more ſolemn and ſonorous.[2] The guttural aſpirates and hiſſing terminations more particularly belonged to the Æolic dialect, from which the Latin was derived; wherefore we need not wonder that the ſame word, which by the Dorians and Ionians was written Ερα and Ερε, ſhould by the Æolians be written Γερες or Ceres, the Greeks always accommodating their orthography to their pronunciation. In an ancient bronze at Strawberry Hill this goddeſs is repreſented ſitting, with a cup in one hand, and various ſorts of fruits in the other; and the bull, the emblem of the power of the Creator, in her lap.[3] This compoſition ſhews the fructification of the earth by the deſcent of the creative ſpirit in the ſame manner as deſcribed by Virgil:—

> Vere tument terræ, et genitalia ſemina poſcunt;
> Tum pater omnipotens fœcundis imbribus æther
> Conjugis in gremium lætæ deſcendit, & omnes
> Magnus alit, magno commixtus corpore, fœtus.[4]

Æther and water are here introduced by the poet as the two prolific elements which fertilize the earth, according to the ancient ſyſtem of the Orphic philoſophy, upon which the myſtic theology was founded. Proſerpine, or Περσιφονεια, the daughter of Ceres, was, as her Greek name indicates, the goddeſs of deſtruction, in which character ſhe is invoked by Althæa in the ninth Iliad; but nevertheleſs we often find her on the Greek medals crowned with

[1] See S. C. Marcian, and the medals of Gela and Agrigentum.

[2] As in the word εριδουπος, uſually written by him εριγδουπος.

[3] See Plate VIII.

[4] *Georgic.* lib. ii. v. 324.

ears of corn, as being the goddeſs of fertility as well as deſtruction.[1] She is, in fact, a perſonification of the heat or fire that pervades the earth, which is at once the cauſe and effect of fertility and deſtruction, for it is at once the cauſe and effect of fermentation, from which both proceed. The Libitina, or goddeſs of death of the Romans, was the ſame as the Perſiphoneia of the Greeks; and yet, as Plutarch obſerves, the moſt learned of that people allowed her to be the ſame as Venus, the goddeſs of generation.[2]

In the Gallery at Florence is a coloſſal image of the organ of generation, mounted on the back parts of a lion, and hung round with various animals. By this is repreſented the co-operation of the creating and deſtroying powers, which are both blended and united in one figure, becauſe both are derived from one cauſe. The animals hung round ſhow likewiſe that both act to the ſame purpoſe, that of repleniſhing the earth, and peopling it with ſtill riſing generations of ſenſitive beings. The Chimæra of Homer, of which the commentators have given ſo many whimſical interpretations, was a ſymbol of the ſame kind, which the poet probably, having ſeen in Aſia, and not knowing its meaning (which was only revealed to the initiated) ſuppoſed to be a monſter that had once infeſted the country. He deſcribes it as compoſed of the forms of the *goat*, the *lion*, and the *ſerpent*, and breathing *fire* from its mouth.[3] Theſe are the ſymbols of the *creator*, the *deſtroyer*, and the *preſerver*, united and animated by *fire*, the divine eſſence of all *three*.[4] On a gem, publiſhed in the Memoirs of the Academy of Cortona,[5] this union of the deſtroying and preſerving attributes is

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[1] Plate IV. Fig. 5, from a medal of Agathocles, belonging to me. The ſame head is upon many others, of Syracuſe, Metapontum, &c.

[2] In Numa.

[3] *Il.* ζ, v. 223.

[4] For the natural properties attributed by the ancients to fire, ſee Plutarch. *in Camillo*, Plin. *Hiſt. Nat.* lib. XXXVI. c. 68.

[5] Vol. iv. p. 32. See alſo Plate V. Fig. 4, copied from it.

repreſented by the united forms of the lion and ſerpent crowned with rays, the emblems of the cauſe from which both proceed. This compoſition forms the Chnoubis of the Egyptians.

Bacchus is frequently repreſented by the ancient artiſts accompanied by tigers, which appear, in ſome inſtances, devouring cluſters of grapes, the fruit peculiarly conſecrated to the god, and in others drinking the liquor preſſed from them. The author of the *Recherches ſur les Arts* has in this inſtance followed the common accounts of the Mythologiſts, and aſſerted that tigers are really fond of grapes;[1] which is ſo far from being true, that they are incapable of feeding upon them, or upon any fruit whatever, being both externally and internally formed to feed upon fleſh only, and to procure their food by deſtroying other animals. Hence I am perſuaded, that in the ancient ſymbols, tigers, as well as lions, repreſent the deſtroying power of the god. Sometimes his chariot appears drawn by them; and then they repreſent the powers of deſtruction preceding the powers of generation, and extending their operation, as putrefaction precedes, and increaſes vegetation. On a medal of Maronea, publiſhed by Geſner,[2] a goat is coupled with the tiger in drawing his chariot; by which compoſition the artiſt has ſhewn the *general active* power of the deity, conducted by his two great attributes of creation and deſtruction. On the Choragic monument of Lyſicrates at Athens, Bacchus is repreſented feeding a tiger; which ſhows the active power of generation feeding and cheriſhing the active power of deſtruction.[3] On a beautiful cameo in the collection of the Duke of Marlborough, the tiger is ſucking the breaſt of a nymph; which repreſents the ſame power of deſtruction, nouriſhed by the paſſive power of generation.[4] In the muſeum of Charles Townley, Eſq., is a group, in

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[1] Liv. i. c. 3. [2] Table xliii. Fig. 26. [3] Stuart's *Athens*, vol. i. c. 4, Plate x.
[4] See Plate XXIII. engraved merely to ſhow the compoſition, it not being permitted to make an exact drawing of it.

marble, of three figures ;[1] the middle one of which grows out of a vine in a human form, with leaves and clusters of grapes springing out of its body. On one side is the Bacchus διφυης, or creator of both sexes, known by the effeminate mold of his limbs and countenance; and on the other, a tiger, leaping up, and devouring the grapes which spring from the body of the personified vine, the hands of which are employed in receiving another cluster from the Bacchus. This composition represents the vine between the creating and destroying attributes of god ; the one giving it fruit, and the other devouring it when given. The tiger has a garland of ivy round his neck, to show that the destroyer was co-essential with the creator, of whom ivy, as well as all other ever-greens, was an emblem representing his perpetual youth and viridity.[2]

The mutual and alternate operation of the two great attributes of creation and destruction, was not confined by the ancients to plants and animals, and such transitory productions, but extended to the universe itself. Fire being the essential cause of both, they believed that the conflagration and renovation of the world were periodical and regular, proceeding from each other by the laws of its own constitution, implanted in it by the creator, who was also the destroyer and renovator ;[3] for, as Plato says, all things arise from one, and into one are all things resolved.[4] It must be observed, that, when the ancients speak of creation and destruction, they mean only formation and dissolution; it being universally allowed, through all systems of religion, or sects of philosophy, that *nothing could come from nothing, and that no power whatever could annihilate that*

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[1] See Plate xxi. Fig. 7.

[2] Strabo, lib. xv. p. 712.

[3] Brucker, *Hist. Crit. Philos.* vol. i. part 2, lib. i. Plutarch. *de Placit. Philos.* lib. ii. c. 18. Lucretius, lib. v. ver. 92. Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* lib. ii.

[4] Εξ ένος τα παντα γενεσθαι, και εις τ' ἀυτον αναλυεσθαι, in Phæd. The same dogma is still more plainly inculcated by the ancient Indian author before cited, see *Bagvat Geeta*, Lect. ix.

which really exiſted. The bold and magnificent idea of a creation from nothing was reſerved for the more vigorous faith, and more enlightened minds of the moderns,[1] who need ſeek no authority to confirm their belief; for, as that which is ſelf-evident admits of no proof, ſo that which is in itſelf impoſſible admits of no refutation.

The fable of the ſerpent Pytho being deſtroyed by Apollo, probably aroſe from an emblematical compoſition, in which that god was repreſented as the deſtroyer of life, of which the ſerpent was a ſymbol. Pliny mentions a ſtatue of him by Praxiteles, which was much celebrated in his time, called Σαυροκτων (*the Lizard-killer.*)[2] The lizard, being ſuppoſed to live upon the dews and moiſture of the earth, is employed as the ſymbol of humidity in general; ſo that the god deſtroying it, ſignifies the ſame as the lion devouring the horſe. The title Apollo, I am inclined to believe, meant originally the Deſtroyer, as well as the Deliverer; for, as the ancients ſuppoſed deſtruction to be merely diſſolution, the power which delivered the particles of matter from the bonds of attraction, and broke the δεσμον περιβριθη ερωτος, was in fact the deſtroyer.[3] It is, probably, for this reaſon, that ſudden death, plagues, and epidemic diſeaſes, are ſaid by the poets to be ſent by this god; who is, at the ſame time, deſcribed as the author of medicine, and all the arts employed to preſerve life. Theſe attributes are not joined merely becauſe the deſtroyer and preſerver were eſſentially the ſame; but becauſe diſeaſe neceſſarily precedes

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[1] The word in *Geneſis* upon which it is founded, conveyed no ſuch ſenſe to the ancients; for the Seventy tranſlated it εποιησε, which ſignifies *formed*, or *faſhioned*.

[2] *Hiſt. Nat.* lib. xxxiv. c. 8. Many copies of it are ſtill extant. Winkelmann has publiſhed one from a bronze of Cardinal Albani's. *Monum. Antichi inediti*, Plate XL.

[3] The verb λυω, from which Apollo is derived, ſignifies in Homer both to *free* and to diſſolve or deſtroy, *Il. a*, ver. 20; *Il. ι*, ver. 25. Macrobius derives the title from απολλυμι, to *deſtroy*; but this word is derived from λυω Sat. lib. i. c. 17.

cure, and is the cauſe of its being invented. The God of Health is ſaid to be his ſon, becauſe the health and vigour of one being are ſupported by the decay and diſſolution of others which are appropriated to its nouriſhment. The bow and arrows are given to him as ſymbols of his characteriſtic attributes, as they are to Diana, who was the female perſonification of the deſtructive, as well as the productive and preſerving powers. Diana is hence called the triple Hecate, and repreſented by three female bodies joined together. Her attributes were however worſhipped ſeparately; and ſome nations revered her under one character, and others under another. Diana of Epheſus was the productive and nutritive power, as the many breaſts and other ſymbols on her ſtatues imply;[1] whilſt Βριμω, the *Tauric* or *Scythic* Diana, appears to have been the deſtructive, and therefore was appeaſed with human ſacrifices, and other bloody rites.[2] She is repreſented ſometimes ſtanding on the back of a bull,[3] and ſometimes in a chariot drawn by bulls;[4] whence ſhe is called by the poets Ταυροπολα[5] and Βοων ελατειρα.[6] Both compoſitions ſhow the paſſive power of nature, whether creative or deſtructive, ſuſtained and guided by the general active power of the creator, of which the ſun was the centre, and the bull the ſymbol.

It was obſerved by the ancients, that the deſtructive power of the ſun was exerted moſt by day, and the creative by night: for it was in the former ſeaſon that he dried up the waters, withered the herbs, and produced diſeaſe and putrefaction; and in the latter,

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[1] Hieron. *Comment. in* Paul *Epiſt. ad Ephes.* [2] Pauſan. lib. iii. c. 16.

[3] See a medal of Auguſtus, publiſhed by Spanheim. *Not. in* Callim. *Hymn. ad Dian.* ver. 113.

[4] Plate VI., from a bronze in the muſeum of C. Townley, Eſq.

[5] Sophoclis *Ajax*, ver. 172.

[6] *Nonni* Dionys. lib. i. the title Ταυροπολος was ſometimes given to Apollo, Euſtath. *Schol. in* Dionys. Περιηγησ., ver. 609.

that he returned the exhalations in dews, tempered with the genial heat which he had transfuſed into the atmoſphere, to reſtore and repleniſh the waſte of the day. Hence, when they perſonified the attributes, they revered the one as the *diurnal*, and the other as the *nocturnal* ſun, and in their myſtic worſhip, as Macrobius ſays,[1] called the former Apollo, and the latter Dionyſus or Bacchus. The mythological perſonages of Caſtor and Pollux, who lived and died alternately, were allegories of the ſame dogma; hence the two aſteriſcs, by which they are diſtinguiſhed on the medals of Locri, Argos, and other cities.

The pæans, or war-ſongs, which the Greeks chanted at the onſet of their battles,[2] were originally ſung to Apollo,[3] who was called Pæon; and Macrobius tells us,[4] that in Spain, the ſun was worſhipped as Mars, the god of war and deſtruction, whose ſtatue they adorned with rays, like that of the Greek Apollo. On a Celtiberian or Runic medal found in Spain, of barbarous workmanſhip, is a head ſurrounded by obeliſcs or rays, which I take to be of this deity.[5] The hairs appear erect, to imitate flames, as they do on many of the Greek medals; and on the reverſe is a bearded head, with a ſort of pyramidal cap on, exactly reſembling that by which the Romans conferred freedom on their ſlaves, and which was therefore called the cap of liberty.[6] On other Celtiberian medals is a figure on horſeback, carrying a ſpear in his hand, and having the ſame ſort of cap on his head, with the word Helman written

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[1] Sat. lib. i. c. 18.
[2] Thucyd. lib. vii.
[3] Homer. *Il. a*, v. 472.
[4] Sat. lib. i. c. 19.
[5] Plate x Fig. 2, engraven from one belonging to me. I have ſince been confirmed in this conjecture by obſerving the characters of Mars and Apollo mixt on Greek coins. On a Mamertine one belonging to me is a head with the youthful features and laurel crown of Apollo; but the hair is ſhort, and the inſcription on the exergue denotes it to be Mars. See Plate xvi. Fig. 2.
[6] It may be ſeen with the dagger on the medals of Brutus.

under him,[1] in characters which are ſomething between the old Runic and Pelaſgian; but ſo near to the latter, that they are eaſily underſtood.[2] This figure ſeems to be of the ſame perſon as is repreſented by the head with the cap on the preceding medal, who can be no other than the angel or miniſter of the deity of death, as the name implies; for Hela, or Hel, was, among the Northern nations, the goddeſs of death,[3] in the ſame manner as Perſiphoneia or Brimo was among the Greeks. The ſame figure appears on many ancient Britiſh medals, and alſo on thoſe of ſeveral Greek cities, particularly thoſe of Gela, which have the Taurine Bacchus or Creator on the reverſe.[4] The head which I have ſuppoſed to be the Celtiberian Mars, or deſtructive power of the diurnal ſun, is beardleſs like the Apollo of the Greeks, and, as far as can be diſcovered in ſuch barbarous ſculpture, has the ſame androgynous features.[5] We may therefore reaſonably ſuppoſe, that, like the Greeks, the Celtiberians perſonified the deſtructive attribute under the different genders, accordingly as they applied it to the ſun, or ſubordinate elements; and then united them, to ſignify that both were eſſentially the ſame. The Helman therefore, who was the ſame as the Μοιραγητης or Διακτωζ of the Greeks, may with equal propriety be called the miniſter of *both* or *either*. The ſpear in his hand is not to be conſidered merely as the implement of deſtruction, but as the ſymbol of power and command, which it was in Greece and Italy, as well as all over the North. Hence ενθυνειν δορι, was

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[1] See Plate IX. Fig. 9, from one belonging to me.

[2] The firſt is a mixture of the Runic *Hagle* and Greek H. The ſecond is the Runic *Laugur*, which is alſo the old Greek Λ, as it appears on the vaſe of the Calydonian Boar in the Britiſh Muſeum. The other three differ little from the common Greek.

[3] Edda. Fab. XVI. D'Hancarville, *Recherches ſur les Arts*, liv. ii. c. 1.

[4] See Plate IX. Fig. 11, from one belonging to me.

[5] See Plate X. Fig. 2.

to govern,[1] and *venire ſub haſtâ*,—*to be ſold as a ſlave*. The ancient Celtes and Scythians paid divine honors to the ſword, the battle-axe, and the ſpear; the firſt of which was the ſymbol by which they repreſented the ſupreme god: hence to ſwear by the edge of the ſword was the moſt ſacred and inviolable of oaths.[2] Euripides alludes to this ancient religion when he calls a ſword ὁρκιον ξιφος; and Æſchylus ſhows clearly, that it once prevailed in Greece, when he makes the heroes of the Thebaid ſwear by the point of the ſpear (ομνυσι δ'αιχμην[3]). Homer ſometimes uſes the word αρης to ſignify the God of War, and ſometimes a weapon: and we have ſufficient proof of this word's being of Celtic origin in its affinity with our Northern word *War*; for, if we write it in the ancient manner, with the Pelaſgian *Vau*, or Æolian *Digamma*, Fαρης (*Wares*), it ſcarcely differs at all.

Behind the bearded head, on the firſt-mentioned Celtiberian medal is an inſtrument like a pair of fire-tongs, or blackſmith's pincers;[4] from which it ſeems that the perſonage here repreſented is the ſame as the Ἡφαιστος or Vulcan of the Greek and Roman mythology. The ſame ideas are expreſſed ſomewhat more plainly on the medals of Æſernia in Italy, which are executed with all the refinement and elegance of Grecian art.[5] On one ſide is Apollo, the diurnal ſun, mounting in his chariot; and on the other a beardleſs head, with the ſame cap on, and the ſame inſtrument behind it, but with the youthful features and elegant character of countenance uſually attributed to Mercury, who, as well as Vulcan, was the God of Art and Mechaniſm; and whoſe peculiar office it alſo was to conduct the ſouls of the deceaſed to their eternal manſions, from whence came the epithet Διακτωζ, applied to him by Homer. He was, therefore, in this reſpect, the ſame as the Helman of the

[1] Eurip. *Hecuba*. [2] Mallet, *Introd. à l'Hiſt. de Danemarc*, c. 9.
[3] Επτα επι Θηβας, v. 535. [4] Plate x. Fig. 2.
[5] See Plate x. Fig. 6, from one belonging to me.

Celtes and Scythians, who was ſuppoſed to conduct the ſouls of all who died a violent death (which alone was accounted truly happy) to the palace of Valhala.[1] It ſeems that the attributes of the deity which the Greeks repreſented by the mythological perſonages of Vulcan and Mercury, were united in the Celtic mythology. Cæſar tells us that the Germans worſhipped Vulcan, or fire, with the ſun and moon; and I ſhall ſoon have occaſion to ſhow that the Greeks held fire to be the real conductor of the dead, and emancipator of the ſoul. The Æſernians, bordering upon the Samnites, a Celtic nation, might naturally be ſuppoſed to have adopted the notions of their neighbours, or, what is more probable, preſerved the religion of their anceſtors more pure than the Hellenic Greeks. Hence they repreſented Vulcan, who, from the inſcription on the exergue of their coins, appears to have been their tutelar god, with the characteriſtic features of Mercury, who was only a different perſonification of the ſame deity.

At Lycopolis in Egypt the deſtroying power of the ſun was repreſented by a wolf; which, as Macrobius ſays, was worſhipped there as Apollo.[2] The wolf appears devouring grapes in the ornaments of the temple of Bacchus περικιονιος at Puzzuoli;[3] and on the medals of Cartha he is ſurrounded with rays, which plainly proves that he is there meant as a ſymbol of the ſun.[4] He is alſo repreſented on moſt of the coins of Argos,[5] where I have already ſhown that the diurnal ſun Apollo, the light-extending god, was peculiarly worſhipped. We may therefore conclude, that this animal is meant for one of the myſtic ſymbols of the primitive worſhip, and not, as ſome antiquarians have ſuppoſed, to commemorate the mythological tales of Danaus or Lycaon, which were probably invented,

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[1] Mallet, *Hiſt. de Danemarc. Introd.* c. 9. [2] *Sat.* lib. i. c. 17.
[3] Plate xvi. Fig. 1. [4] Plate x. Fig. 8, from one belonging to me.
[5] Plate ix. Fig. 7, from one belonging to me.

like many others of the ſame kind, to ſatisfy the inquiſitive ignorance of the vulgar, from whom the meaning of the myſtic ſymbols, the uſual devices on the medals, was ſtrictly concealed. In the Celtic mythology, the ſame ſymbol was employed, apparently in the ſame ſenſe, Lok, the great deſtroying power of the univerſe, being repreſented under the form of a wolf.[1]

The Apollo Didymæus, or *double Apollo*, was probably the two perſonifications, that of the *deſtroying*, and that of the creating power, united; whence we may perceive the reaſon why the ornaments before deſcribed ſhould be upon his temple.[2] On the medals of Antigonus, king of Aſia, is a figure with his hair hanging in artificial ringlets over his ſhoulders, like that of a woman, and the whole compoſition, both of his limbs and countenance, remarkable for extreme delicacy, and feminine elegance.[3] He is ſitting on the prow of a ſhip, as god of the waters; and we ſhould, without heſitation, pronounce him to be the Bacchus διφυης, were it not for the bow that he carries in his hand, which evidently ſhows him to be Apollo. This I take to be the figure under which the refinement of art (and more was never ſhown than in this medal) repreſented the Apollo Didymæus, or union of the creative and deſtructive powers of both ſexes in one body.

As fire was the primary eſſence of the active or male powers of creation and generation, ſo was water of the paſſive or female. Appian ſays, that the goddeſs worſhipped at Hierapolis in Syria was *called by ſome* Venus, *by others* Juno, *and by others held to be the cauſe which produced the beginning and ſeeds of things from humidity*.[4] Plutarch deſcribes her nearly in the ſame words;[5] and

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[1] Mallet, *Introd. à l'Hiſt. de Danemarc.*

[2] See *Ionian Antiq.* vol. i. c. 3, Pl. IX.

[3] See Plate X. Fig. 7, from one belonging to me. Similar figures are on the coins of moſt of the Seleucidæ. [4] *De Bello Parthico.* [5] *In Craſſo.*

the author of the treatiſe attributed to Lucian[1] ſays, *ſhe was Nature, the parent of things, or the creatreſs.* She was therefore the ſame as Iſis, who was the prolific material upon which both the creative and deſtructive attributes operated.[2] As water was her terreſtrial eſſence, so was the moon her celeſtial image, whoſe attractive power, heaving the waters of the ocean, naturally led men to aſſociate them. The moon was alſo ſuppoſed to return the dews which the ſun exhaled from the earth; and hence her warmth was reckoned to be moiſtening, as that of the ſun was drying.[3] The Egyptians called her the Mother of the World, becauſe ſhe ſowed and ſcattered into the air the prolific principles with which ſhe had been impregnated by the ſun.[4] Theſe principles, as well as the light by which ſhe was illumined, being ſuppoſed to emanate from the great fountain of all life and motion, partook of the nature of the being from which they were derived. Hence the Egyptians attributed to the moon, as well as to the ſun, the active and paſſive powers of generation,[5] which were both, to uſe the language of the ſcholaſtics, *eſſentially* the ſame, though *formally* different. This union is repreſented on a medal of Demetrius the ſecond, king of Syria,[6] where the goddeſs of Hierapolis appears with the male organs of generation ſticking out of her robe, and holding the thyrſus of Bacchus, the emblem of fire, in one hand, and the terreſtrial globe, repreſenting the ſubordinate elements, in the other. Her head is crowned with various plants, and on each ſide is an aſteriſc repreſenting (probably) the diurnal and nocturnal ſun, in the ſame manner as when placed over the caps of Caſtor and Pollux.[7] This is not the form under which ſhe was repreſented in the temple at

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1 *De Dea Syriâ.*
2 Plutarch. *de Iſ. & Oſ.*
3 *Calor ſolis arefacit, lunaris humectat.* Macrob. *Sat.* VII. c. 10.
4 Plutarch. *de Iſ. & Oſ.*
5 Ibid.
6 Plate X. Fig. 5, from Haym, *Teſ. Brit.* p. 70.
7 See Plate IX. Fig. 7.

Hierapolis, when the author of the account attributed to Lucian viſited it; which is not to be wondered at, for the figures of this univerſal goddeſs, being merely emblematical, were compoſed according to the attributes which the artiſts meant particularly to expreſs. She is probably repreſented here in the form under which ſhe was worſhipped in the neighbourhood of Cyzicus, where ſhe was called Αρτεμις Πριαπινη, the *Priapic Diana*.[1] In the temple at Hierapolis the active powers imparted to her by the Creator were repreſented by immenſe images of the male organs of generation placed on each ſide of the door. The meaſures of theſe muſt neceſſarily be corrupt in the preſent text of Lucian; but that they were of an enormous ſize we may conclude from what is related of a man's going to the top of one of them every year, and reſiding there ſeven days, in order to have a more intimate communication with the deity, while praying for the proſperity of Syria.[2] Athenæus relates, that Ptolemy Philadelphus had one of 120 cubits long carried in proceſſion at Alexandria,[3] of which the poet might juſtly have ſaid—

> Horrendum protendit Mentula contum
> Quanta queat vaſtos Thetidis ſpumantis hiatus;
> Quanta queat priſcamque Rheam, magnamque parentem
> Naturam, ſolidis naturam implere medullis,
> Si foret immenſos, quot ad aſtra volantia currunt,
> Conceptura globos, et tela triſulca tonantis,
> Et vaga concuſſum motura tonitrua mundum.

This was the real meaning of the enormous figures at Hierapolis:—they were the generative organs of the creator perſonified, with which he was ſuppoſed to have impregnated the heavens, the earth, and the waters. Within the temple were many ſmall ſtatues of men with theſe organs diſproportionably large. Theſe were the angels or attendants of the goddeſs, who acted as her miniſters of

[1] Plutarch. *in Lucullo.* [2] Lucian. *de Dea Syriâ.* [3] *Deipnoſ. lib.*

creation in peopling and fructifying the earth. The ſtatue of the goddeſs herſelf was in the ſanctuary of the temple; and near it was the ſtatue of the creator, whom the author calls Jupiter, as he does the goddeſs, Juno; by which he only means that they were the ſupreme deities of the country where worſhipped. She was borne by lions, and he by bulls, to ſhow that nature, the paſſive productive power of matter, was ſuſtained by anterior deſtruction, whilſt the ætherial ſpirit, or active productive power, was ſuſtained by his own ſtrength only, of which the bulls were ſymbols.[1] Between both was a third figure, with a dove on his head, which ſome thought to be Bacchus.[2] This was the Holy Spirit, the firſt-begotten love, or plaſtic nature, (of which the dove was the image when it really deigned to deſcend upon man,[3]) proceeding from, and conſubſtantial with *both;* for all *three* were but perſonifications of *one.* The dove, or ſome fowl like it, appears on the medals of Gortyna in Crete, acting the ſame part with Dictynna, the Cretan Diana, as the ſwan is uſually repreſented acting with Leda.[4] This compoſition has nearly the ſame ſignification as that before deſcribed of the bull in the lap of Ceres, Diana being equally a perſonification of the productive power of the earth. It may ſeem extraordinary, that after this adventure with the dove, ſhe ſhould ſtill remain a virgin; but myſteries of this kind are to be found in all religions. Juno is ſaid to have renewed her virginity every year by bathing in a certain fountain;[5] a miracle which I believe even modern legends cannot parallel.

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[1] The *active* and *paſſive* powers of creation are called *male* and *female* by the Ammonian Platonics. See Proclus *in Theol. Platon.* lib. i. c. 28.

[2] Lucian. *de Dea Syriâ.* [3] Matth. ch. iii. ver. 17.

[4] See Plate III. Fig. 5. Καλδσι δε την Αρτεμιν Θρακες Βενδειαν, Κρητες δε Δικτυνναν. Palæph. *de Incred.* Tab. XXXI. See alſo Diodor. Sic. lib. v. & Euripid. *Hippol.* v. 145.

[5] Pauſan. lib. ii. c. 38.

In the viſion of Ezekiel, God is deſcribed as deſcending upon the combined forms of the eagle, the bull, and the lion,[1] the emblems of the ætherial ſpirit, the creative and deſtructive powers, which were all united in the true God, though hypoſtatically divided in the Syrian trinity. Man was compounded with them, as repreſenting the real image of God, according to the Jewiſh theology. The cherubim on the ark of the covenant, between which God dwelt,[2] were alſo compounded of the ſame forms,[3] ſo that the idea of them muſt have been preſent to the prophet's mind, previous to the apparition which furniſhed him with the deſcription. Even thoſe on the ark of the covenant, though made at the expreſs command of God, do not appear to have been original; for a figure exactly anſwering to the deſcription of them appears among thoſe curious ruins exiſting at Chilminar, in Perſia, which have been ſuppoſed to be thoſe of the palace of Perſepolis, burnt by Alexander; but for what reaſon, it is not eaſy to conjecture. They do not, certainly, anſwer to any ancient deſcription extant of that celebrated palace; but, as far as we can judge of them in their preſent ſtate, appear evidently to have been a temple.[4] But the Perſians, as before obſerved, had no incloſed temples or ſtatues, which they held in ſuch abhorrence, that they tried every means poſſible to deſtroy thoſe of the Egyptians; thinking it unworthy of the majeſty of the deity to have his all-pervading preſence limited to the boundary of an edifice, or likened to an image of ſtone or metal. Yet, among the ruins at Chilminar, we not only find many ſtatues, which are evidently of ideal beings,[5] but alſo that remarkable emblem of the deity, which diſtinguiſhes almoſt all the

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1 Ezek. ch. i. ver. 10, with Lowth's *Comm.*

2 *Exod.* ch. xxv. ver. 22.

3 Spencer *de Leg. Ritual Vet. Hebræor.* lib. iii. diſſert. 5.

4 See Le Bruyn, *Voyage en Perſe*, Planche cxxiii.

5 See Le Bruyn and Niebuhr.

Egyptian temples now extant.[1] The portals are alſo of the ſame form as thoſe at Thebes and Philæ; and, except the hieroglyphics which diſtinguiſh the latter, are finiſhed and ornamented nearly in the ſame manner. Unleſs, therefore, we ſuppoſe the Perſians to have been ſo inconſiſtent as to erect temples in direct contradiction to the firſt principles of their own religion, and decorate them with ſymbols and images,which they held to be impious and abominable, we cannot ſuppoſe them to be the authors of theſe buildings. Neither can we ſuppoſe the Parthians, or later Perſians, to have been the builders of them; for both the ſtyle of workmanſhip in the figures, and the forms of the letters in the inſcriptions, denote a much higher antiquity, as will appear evidently to any one who will take the trouble of comparing the drawings publiſhed by Le Bruyn and Niebuhr with the coins of the Arſacidæ and Saſſanidæ. Almoſt all the ſymbolical figures are to be found repeated upon different Phœnician coins; but the letters of the Phœnicians, which are ſaid to have come to them from the Aſſyrians, are much leſs ſimple, and evidently belong to an alphabet much further advanced in improvement. Some of the figures are alſo obſervable upon the Greek coins, particularly the bull and lion fighting, and the myſtic flower, which is the conſtant device of the Rhodians. The ſtyle of workmanſhip is alſo exactly the ſame as that of the very ancient Greek coins of Acanthus, Celendaris, and Leſbos; the lines being very ſtrongly marked, and the hair expreſſed by round knobs. The wings likewiſe of the figure, which reſembles the Jewiſh cherubim, are the ſame as thoſe upon ſeveral Greek ſculptures now extant; ſuch as the little images of Priapus attached to the ancient bracelets, the compound figures of the goat and lion

[1] See Plate XVIII. Fig. 1 from the Iſiac Table, and Plate XIX. Fig. 5 from Niebuhr's prints of Chilminar. See alſo Plate XVIII. Fig. 2 and Plate XIX. Fig 1 from the Iſiac Tables and the Egyptian Portals publiſhed by Norden and Pococke, on every one of which this ſingular emblem occurs.

upon the frieze of the Temple of Apollo Didymæus, &c. &c.[1] They are likewiſe joined to the human figure on the medals of Melita and Camarina,[2] as well as upon many ancient ſculptures in relief found in Perſia.[3] The feathers in theſe wings are turned upwards like thoſe of an oſtrich,[4] to which however they have no reſemblance in form, but ſeem rather like thoſe of a fowl brooding, though more diſtorted than any I ever obſerved in nature. Whether this diſtortion was meant to expreſs luſt or incubation, I cannot determine; but the compoſitions, to which the wings are added, leave little doubt, that it was meant for the one or the other. I am inclined to believe that it was for the latter, as we find on the medals of Melita a figure with four of theſe wings, who ſeems by his attitude to be brooding over ſomething.[5] On his head is the cap of liberty, whilſt in his right hand he holds the hook or attractor, and in his left the winnow or ſeparator; ſo that he probably repreſents the Ερως, or generative ſpirit brooding over matter, and giving liberty to its productive powers by the exertion of his own attributes, attraction and ſeparation. On a very ancient Phœnician medal brought from Aſia by Mr. Pullinger, and publiſhed very incorrectly by Mr. Swinton in the Philoſophical Tranſactions of 1760, is a diſc or ring ſurrounded by wings of different forms, of which ſome of the feathers are diſtorted in the ſame manner.[6] The ſame diſc, ſurrounded by the ſame kind of wings, incloſes the aſteriſc of the ſun over the bull Apis, or Mnevis, on the Iſiac Table,[7] where it alſo appears with many of the other Egyptian

[1] See Le Bruyn, Planche cxxiii. *Ionian Antiquities*, vol. i. c. 3. Plate ix., and Plate ii. Fig. 2.

[2] See Plate xx. Fig. 2, from one of Melita, belonging to me.

[3] See Le Bruyn, Planche cxxi.

[4] As thoſe on Figures deſcribed by Ezekiel were. See c. i. v. 11.

[5] See Plate xx. Fig. 2, engraved from one belonging to me.

[6] See Plate ix. Fig. 9, engraved from the original medal, now belonging to me.

[7] See Plate xix. Fig. 1, from Pignorius.

ſymbols, particularly over the heads of Iſis and Oſiris.[1] It is alſo placed over the entrances of moſt of the Egyptian temples deſcribed by Pococke and Norden as well as on that repreſented on the Iſiac Table,[2] though with ſeveral variations, and without the afteriſc. We find it equally without the afteriſc, but with little or no variation, on the ruins at Chilmenar, and other ſuppoſed Perſian antiquities in that neighbourhood:[3] but upon ſome of the Greek medals the afteriſc alone is placed over the bull with the human face,[4] who is then the ſame as the Apis or Mnevis of the Egyptians; that is, the image of the generative power of the ſun, which is ſignified by the afteriſc on the Greek medals, and by the kneph, or winged diſc, on the Oriental monuments. The Greeks however ſometimes employed this latter ſymbol, but contrived, according to their uſual practice, to join it to the human figure, as may be ſeen on a medal of Camarina, publiſhed by Prince Torremmuzzi.[5] On other medals of this city the ſame idea is expreſſed, without the diſc or afteriſc, by a winged figure, which appears hovering over a ſwan, the emblem of the waters, to ſhow the generative power of the ſun fructifying that element, or adding the *active* to the *paſſive* powers of production.[6] On the medals of Naples, a winged figure of the ſame kind is repreſented crowning the Taurine Bacchus with a wreath of laurel.[7] This antiquarians have called a Victory crowning the Minotaur; but the fabulous monſter called the Minotaur was never ſaid to have been victorious, even by the poets

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[1] See Plate XVIII. Fig. 2, from Pignorius.

[2] See Plate XVIII. Fig. 1, from Pignorius.

[3] See Niebuhr and Le Bruyn, and Plate XIX. Fig. 2, from the former.

[4] See Plate IV. Fig. 2, and Plate XIX. Fig. 4, from a medal of Cales, belonging to me.

[5] See Plate XXI. Fig. 2, copied from it.

[6] See Plate XXI. Fig. 3, from one belonging to me.

[7] See Plate XIX. Fig. 5. The coins are common in all collections.

who invented it; and whenever the ſculptors and painters repreſented it, they joined the head of a bull to a human body, as may be ſeen in the celebrated picture of Theſeus, publiſhed among the antiquities of Herculaneum, and on the medals of Athens, ſtruck about the time of Severus, when the ſtyle of art was totally changed, and the myſtic theology extinct. The winged figure, which has been called a Victory, appears mounting in the chariot of the ſun, on the medals of queen Philiſtis,[1] and, on ſome of thoſe of Syracuſe, flying before it in the place where the aſteriſc appears on others of the ſame city.[2] I am therefore perſuaded, that theſe are only different modes of repreſenting one idea, and that the winged figure means the ſame, when placed over the Taurine Bacchus of the Greeks, as the winged diſc does over the Apis or Mnevis of the Egyptians. The Ægis, or ſnaky breaſtplate, and the Meduſa's head, are alſo, as Dr. Stukeley juſtly obſerved,[3] Greek modes of repreſenting this winged diſc joined with the ſerpents, as it frequently is, both in the Egyptian ſculptures, and thoſe of Chilmenar in Perſia. The expreſſions of rage and violence, which uſually characteriſe the countenance of Meduſa, ſignify the deſtroying attribute joined with the generative, as both were equally under the direction of Minerva, or divine wiſdom. I am inclined to believe, that the large rings, to which the little figures of Priapus are attached,[4] had alſo the ſame meaning as the diſc; for, if intended merely to ſuſpend them by, they are of an extravagant magnitude, and would not anſwer their purpoſe ſo well as a common loop.

On the Phœnician coin above mentioned, this ſymbol, the winged diſc, is placed over a figure ſitting, who holds in his hands an arrow, whilſt a bow, ready bent, of the ancient Scythian form,

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[1] See Plate XXI. Fig. 4, from one belonging to me.
[2] See Plate XXI. Fig. 5 and 6, from coins belonging to me.
[3] Abury, p. 93.
[4] See Plate II. Fig. 1, and Plate III. Fig. 2.

lies by him.[1] On his head is a large looſe cap, tied under his chin, which I take to be the lion's ſkin, worn in the ſame manner as on the heads of Hercules, upon the medals of Alexander; but the work is ſo ſmall, though executed with extreme nicety and preciſion, and perfectly preſerved, that it is difficult to decide with certainty what it repreſents, in parts of ſuch minuteneſs. The bow and arrows, we know, were the ancient arms of Hercules;[2] and continued ſo, until the Greek poets thought proper to give him the club.[3] He was particularly worſhipped at Tyre, the metropolis of Phœnicia;[4] and his head appears in the uſual form, on many of the coins of that people. We may hence conclude that he is the perſon here repreſented, notwithſtanding the difference in the ſtyle and compoſition of the figure, which may be accounted for by the difference of art. The Greeks, animated by the ſpirit of their ancient poets, and the glowing melody of their language, were grand and poetical in all their compoſitions; whilſt the Phœnicians, who ſpoke a harſh and untuneable dialect, were unacquainted with fine poetry, and conſequently with poetical ideas; for words being the types of ideas, and the ſigns or marks by which men not only communicate them to each other, but arrange and regulate them in their own minds, the genius of a language goes a great way towards forming the character of the people who uſe it. Poverty of expreſſion will produce poverty of conception; for men will never be able to form ſublime ideas, when the language in which they *think* (for men always think as well as ſpeak in ſome language) is incapable of expreſſing them. This may be one reaſon why the Phœnicians never rivalled the Greeks in the perfection of art, although they attained a degree of excellence long before them; for Homer, whenever he has occaſion to ſpeak of any fine piece of art, takes

[1] See Plate IX. Fig. 10 *b*.

[2] Homer's *Odyſſ.* Λ, ver. 606.

[3] Strabo, lib. xiv.

[4] Macrob. *Sat.* lib. i. c. 20.

care to inform us that it was the work of Sidonians. He alſo mentions the Phœnician merchants bringing toys and ornaments of dreſs to ſell to the Greeks, and practiſing thoſe frauds which merchants and factors are apt to practiſe upon ignorant people.[1] It is probable that their progreſs in the fine arts, like that of the Dutch (who are the Phœnicians of modern hiſtory), never went beyond a ſtrict imitation of nature; which, compared to the more elevated graces of ideal compoſition, is like a newſpaper narrative compared with one of Homer's battles. A figure of Hercules, therefore, executed by a Phœnician artiſt, if compared to one by Phidias or Lyſippus, would be like a picture of Moſes or David, painted by Teniers, or Gerard Dow, compared to one of the ſame, painted by Raphael or Annibal Caracci. This is exactly the difference between the figures on the medal now under conſideration, and thoſe on the coins of Gelo or Alexander. Of all the perſonages of the ancient mythology, Hercules is perhaps the moſt difficult to explain; for phyſical allegory and fabulous hiſtory are ſo entangled in the accounts we have of him, that it is ſcarcely poſſible to ſeparate them. He appears however, like all the other gods, to have been originally a perſonified attribute of the ſun. The eleventh of the Orphic Hymns[2] is addreſſed to him as the ſtrength and power of the ſun; and Macrobius ſays that he was thought to be the ſtrength and virtue of the gods, by which they deſtroyed the giants; and that, according to Varro, the Mars and Hercules of the Romans were the ſame deity, and worſhipped with the ſame rites.[3] According to Varro then, whoſe authority is perhaps the greateſt that can be cited, Hercules was the deſtroying attribute repreſented in a human form, inſtead of that of a lion, tiger, or hippopotamus. Hence the terrible picture drawn of him by Homer, which always appeared to me to have been taken from

[1] Homer. *Odyſſ. o*, ver. 414. [2] *Ed. Geſner.* [3] *Sat.* lib. i. c. 20.

ſome ſymbolical ſtatue, which the poet not underſtanding, ſuppoſed to be of the Theban hero, who had aſſumed the title of the deity, and whoſe fabulous hiſtory he was well acquainted with. The deſcription however applies in every particular to the allegorical perſonage. His attitude, for ever fixed in the act of letting fly his arrow,[1] with the figures of lions and bears, battles and murders, which adorn his belt, all unite in repreſenting him as the deſtructive attribute perſonified. But how happens it then that he is ſo frequently repreſented ſtrangling the lion, the natural emblem of this power? Is this an hiſtorical fable belonging to the Theban hero, or a phyſical allegory of the deſtructive power deſtroying its own force by its own exertions? Or is the ſingle attribute perſonified taken for the whole power of the deity in this, as in other inſtances already mentioned? The Orphic Hymn above cited ſeems to favour this laſt conjecture; for he is there addreſſed both as the devourer and generator of all (Παμφαγε, παγγενετωρ). However this may be, we may ſafely conclude that the Hercules armed with the bow and arrow, as he appears on the preſent medal, is like the Apollo, the deſtroying power of the diurnal ſun.

On the other ſide of the medal[2] is a figure, ſomewhat like the Jupiter on the medals of Alexander and Antiochus, ſitting with a beaded ſceptre in his right hand, which he reſts upon the head of a bull, that projects from the ſide of the chair. Above, on his right ſhoulder, is a bird, probably a dove, the ſymbol of the Holy Spirit, deſcending from the ſun, but, as this part of the medal is leſs perfect than the reſt, the ſpecies cannot be clearly diſcovered. In his left hand he holds a ſhort ſtaff, from the upper ſide of which ſprings an ear of corn, and from the lower a bunch of grapes, which being the two moſt eſteemed productions of the earth, were the natural emblems of general fertilization. This figure is there-

[1] Αιει Βαλεοντι ἐοικως. *Odyſſ.* λ, ver. 607. [2] See Plate IX. Fig. 10 *a*.

fore the generator, as that on the other ſide is the deſtroyer, whilſt the ſun, of whoſe attributes both are perſonifications, is placed between them. The letters on the ſide of the generator are quite entire, and, according to the Phœnician alphabet publiſhed by Mr. Dutens, are equivalent to the Roman ones which compoſe the words *Baal Thrz*, of which Mr. Swinton makes *Baal Tarz*, and tranſlates *Jupiter of Tarſus;* whence he concludes that this coin was ſtruck at that city. But the firſt letter of the laſt word is not a *Teth*, but a *Thau*, or aſpirated T; and, as the Phœnicians had a vowel anſwering to the Roman A, it is probable they would have inſerted it, had they intended it to be ſounded: but we have no reaſon to believe that they had any to expreſs the U or Y, which muſt therefore be comprehended in the preceding conſonant whenever the ſound is expreſſed. Hence I conclude that the word here meant is *Thyrz* or *Thurz*, the *Thor* or *Thur* of the Celtes and Sarmatians, the *Thurra* of the Aſſyrians, the *Turan* of the Tyrrhenians or Etruſcans, the *Taurine Bacchus* of the Greeks, and the deity whom the Germans carried with them in the ſhape of a bull, when they invaded Italy; from whom the city of Tyre, as well as Tyrrhenia, or Tuſcany, probably took its name. His ſymbol the bull, to which the name alludes, is repreſented on the chair or throne in which he ſits; and his ſceptre, the emblem of his authority, reſts upon it. The other word, *Baal*, was merely a title in the Phœnician language, ſignifying *God*, or *Lord;*[1] and uſed as an epithet of the ſun, as we learn from the name Baal-bec (*the city of Baal*), which the Greeks rendered Heliopolis (*the city of the ſun*).

Thus does this ſingular medal ſhow the fundamental principles of the ancient Phœnician religion to be the ſame as thoſe which appear to have prevailed through all the other nations of the northern hemiſphere. Fragments of the ſame ſyſtem every where

[1] *Cleric. Comm. in* 2 *Reg.* c. i. ver. 2.

occur, variouſly expreſſed as they were variouſly underſtood, and oftentimes merely preſerved without being underſtood at all; the ancient reverence being continued to the ſymbols, when their meaning was wholly forgotten. The *hypoſtatical* diviſion and *eſſential* unity of the deity is one of the moſt remarkable parts of this ſyſtem, and the fartheſt removed from common ſenſe and reaſon; and yet this is perfectly reaſonable and conſiſtent, if conſidered together with the reſt of it: for the emanations and perſonifications were only figurative abſtractions of particular modes of action and exiſtence, of which the primary cauſe and original eſſence ſtill continued one and the ſame.

The three hypoſtaſes being thus only one being, each hypoſtaſis is occaſionally taken for all; as is the caſe in the paſſage of Apuleius before cited, where Iſis deſcribes herſelf as the univerſal deity. In this character ſhe is repreſented by a ſmall baſaltine figure, of Egyptian ſculpture, at Strawberry Hill, which is covered over with ſymbols of various kinds from top to bottom.[1] That of the bull is placed loweſt, to ſhow that the ſtrength or power of the creator is the foundation and ſupport of every other attribute. On her head are towers, to denote the earth; and round her neck is hung a crab-fiſh, which, from its power of ſpontaneouſly detaching from its body, and naturally reproducing, any limbs that are hurt or mutilated, became the ſymbol of the productive power of the waters; in which ſenſe it appears on great numbers of ancient medals of various cities.[2] The nutritive power is ſignified

[1] A print of one exactly the ſame is publiſhed by Montfaucon, *Antiq. expliq.* vol. i. Plate xciii. Fig. 1.

[2] See thoſe of Agrigentum, Himera, and Cyrene. On a ſmall one of the firſt-mentioned city, belonging to me, a croſs, the abbreviated ſymbol of the male powers of generation, approaches the mouth of the crab, while the cornucopia iſſues from it (ſee Plate xx. Fig. 3): the one repreſents the cauſe, and the other the effect, of fertilization.

by her many breaſts, and the deſtructive by the lions which ſhe bears on her arms. Other attributes are expreſſed by various other animal ſymbols, the preciſe meaning of which I have not ſagacity ſufficient to diſcover.

This univerſality of the goddeſs was more conciſely repreſented in other figures of her, by the myſtic inſtrument called a *Syſtrum*, which ſhe carried in her hand. Plutarch has given an explanation of it,[1] which may ſerve to ſhow that the mode here adopted of explaining the ancient ſymbols is not founded merely upon conjecture and analogy, but alſo upon the authority of one of the moſt grave and learned of the Greeks. The curved top, he ſays, repreſented the lunar orbit, within which the creative attributes of the deity were exerted, in giving motion to the four elements, ſignified by the four rattles below.[2] On the centre of the curve was a cat, the emblem of the moon; who, from her influence on the conſtitutions of women, was ſuppoſed to preſide particularly over the paſſive powers of generation;[3] and below, upon the baſe, a head of Iſis or Nepthus; inſtead of which, upon that which I have had engraved, as well as upon many others now extant, are the male organs of generation, repreſenting the active powers of the creator, attributed to Iſis with the paſſive. The clattering noiſe, and various motions of the rattles being adopted as the ſymbols of the movement and mixture of the elements from which all things are produced; the ſound of metals in general became an emblem of the ſame kind. Hence, the ringing of bells, and clattering of plates of metal, were uſed in all luſtrations, ſacrifices, &c.[4] The title Priapus, applied to the characteriſtic attribute of the creator,

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1 *De Is. & Os.*

2 See Plate x. Fig. 4, engraved from one in the collection of R. Wilbraham, Eſq.

3 Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* lib. ii. c. 46.

4 Clem. Alex. Προτ. p. 9. *Schol. in* Theocrit. Idyll. ii. ver. 36.

and ſometimes to the Creator himſelf, is probably a corruption of Βριαπνος (clamorous or loud); for the B and Π being both labials, the change of the one for the other is common in the Greek language. We ſtill find many ancient images of this ſymbol, with bells attached to them,[1] as they were to the ſacred robe of the high prieſt of the Jews, in which he adminiſtered to the Creator.[2] The bells in both were of a pyramidal form,[3] to ſhew the ætherial igneous eſſence of the god. This form is ſtill retained in thoſe uſed in our churches, as well as in the little ones rung by the Catholic prieſts at the elevation of the hoſt. The uſe of them was early adopted by the Chriſtians, in the ſame ſenſe as they were employed by the later heathens; that is, as a charm againſt evil dæmons;[4] for, being ſymbols of the active exertions of the creative attributes, they were properly oppoſed to the emanations of the deſtructive. The Lacedemonians uſed to beat a pan or kettle-drum at the death of their king,[5] to aſſiſt in the emancipation of his ſoul at the diſſolution of the body. We have a ſimilar cuſtom of tolling a bell on ſuch occaſions, which is very generally practiſed, though the meaning of it has been long forgotten. This emancipation of the ſoul was ſuppoſed to be finally performed by fire; which, being the viſible image and active eſſence of both the creative and deſtructive powers, was very naturally thought to be the medium through which men paſſed from the preſent to a future life. The Greeks, and all the Celtic nations, accordingly, burned the bodies of the dead, as the Gentoos do at this day; while the Egyptians, among whom fuel was extremely ſcarce,

[1] *Bronzi dell' Hercol.* Tom. vi. Plate xcviii.

[2] *Exod.* ch. xxviii.

[3] *Bronzi dell' Hercol.* Tom. vi. Plate xcviii. Maimonides in Patrick's *Commentary on Exodus*, ch. xxviii.

[4] Ovid. *Faſt.* lib. v. ver. 441. *Schol. in* Theocrit. Idyll. ii. ver. 36.

[5] *Schol. in* Theocrit. Idyll. ii. ver. 36.

placed them in pyramidal monuments, which were the ſymbols of fire; hence come thoſe prodigious ſtructures which ſtill adorn that country. The ſoul which was to be emancipated was the divine emanation, the vital ſpark of heavenly flame, the principle of reaſon and perception, which was perſonified into the familiar dæmon, or genius, ſuppoſed to have the direction of each individual, and to diſpoſe him to good or evil, wiſdom or folly, and all their conſequences of proſperity and adverſity.[1] Hence proceeded the doctrines, ſo uniformly inculcated by Homer and Pindar,[2] of all human actions depending immediately upon the gods; which were adopted, with ſcarcely any variations, by ſome of the Chriſtian divines of the apoſtolic age. In the Paſtor of Hermas, and Recognitions of Clemens, we find the angels of juſtice, penitence, and ſorrow, inſtead of the genii, or dæmons, which the ancients ſuppoſed to direct men's minds and inſpire them with thoſe particular ſentiments. St. Paul adopted the ſtill more comfortable doctrine of grace, which ſerved full as well to emancipate the conſciences of the faithful from the ſhackles of practical morality. The familiar dæmons, or divine emanations, were ſuppoſed to reſide in the blood; which was thought to contain the principles of vital heat, and was therefore forbidden by Moſes.[3] Homer, who ſeems to have collected little fragments of the ancient theology, and introduced them here and there, amidſt the wild profuſion of his poetical fables, repreſents the ſhades of the deceaſed as void of perception, until they had taſted of the blood of the victims offered

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[1] Pindar. *Pyth.* v. ver. 164. Sophocl. *Trachin.* ver. 922. Hor. lib. ii. epiſt. i. ver. 187.

[2] Εκ Θεων μαχαναι πᾶσαι βροτειαις αρεταις, και σοφοι, και χερσι βιατα περιγλωσσοι τ' εφυν. Pindar. *Pyth.* i. ver. 79. Paſſages to the ſame purpoſe occ in almoſt every page of the *Iliad* and *Odyſſey*.

[3] *Levit.* ch. xvii. ver. 11 & 14.

by Ulyſſes;[1] by which their faculties were renewed by a reunion with the divine emanation, from which they had been ſeparated. The ſoul of Tireſias is ſaid to be entire in hell, and to poſſeſs alone the power of perception, becauſe with him this divine emanation ſtill remained. The ſhade of Hercules is deſcribed among the other ghoſts, though he himſelf, as the poet ſays, was then in heaven; that is, the active principle of thought and perception returned to its native heaven, whilſt the paſſive, or merely ſenſitive, remained on earth, from whence it ſprung.[2] The final ſeparation of theſe two did not take place till the body was conſumed by fire, as appears from the ghoſt of Elpenor, whoſe body being ſtill entire, he retained both, and knew Ulyſſes before he had taſted of the blood. It was from producing this ſeparation, that the univerſal Bacchus, or double Apollo, the creator and deſtroyer, whoſe eſſence was fire, was alſo called Λικνιτης, the purifier,[3] by a metaphor taken from the winnow, which purified the corn from the duſt and chaff, as fire purified the ſoul from its terreſtrial pollutions. Hence this inſtrument is called by Virgil the myſtic winnow of Bacchus.[4] The Ammonian Platonics and Gnoſtic Chriſtians thought that this ſeparation, or purification, might be effected in a degree even before death. It was for this purpoſe that they practiſed ſuch rigid temperance, and gave themſelves up to ſuch intenſe ſtudy; for, by ſubduing and extenuating the terreſtrial principle, they hoped to give liberty and vigour to the celeſtial, ſo that it might be enabled to aſcend directly to the intellectual world, pure and unincumbered.[5]

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[1] *Odyſſ.* λ, ver. 152.

[2] Thoſe who wiſh to ſee the difference between ſenſation and perception clearly and fully explained, may be ſatisfied by reading the *Eſſai analytique ſur l'Ame*, by Mr. Bonnet.

[3] *Orph. Hymn.* 45. [4] *Myſtica vannus Iacchi.* Georg. i. ver. 166.

[5] Plotin. *Ennead.* vi. lib. iv. ch. 16. Moſheim, *Not.* y *in* Cudw. *Syſt. Intell.* ch. v. ſect. 20.

The clergy afterwards introduced Purgatory, inſtead of abſtract meditation and ſtudy; which was the ancient mode of ſeparation by fire, removed into an unknown country, where it was ſaleable to all ſuch of the inhabitants of this world as had ſufficient wealth and credulity.

It was the celeſtial or ætherial principle of the human mind, which the ancient artiſts repreſented under the ſymbol of the butterfly, which may be conſidered as one of the moſt elegant allegories of their elegant religion. This inſect, when hatched from the egg, appears in the ſhape of a grub, crawling upon the earth, and feeding upon the leaves of plants. In this ſtate, it was aptly made the emblem of man, in his earthly form, in which the ætherial vigour and activity of the celeſtial ſoul, the *divinæ particula mentis*, was ſuppoſed to be clogged and incumbered with the material body. When the grub was changed to a chryſalis, its ſtillneſs, torpor, and inſenſibility ſeemed to preſent a natural image of death, or the intermediate ſtate between the ceſſation of the vital functions of the body and the final releaſement of the ſoul by the fire, in which the body was conſumed. The butterfly breaking from the torpid chryſalis, and mounting in the air, was no leſs natural an image of the celeſtial ſoul burſting from the reſtraints of matter, and mixing again with its native æther. The Greek artiſts, always ſtudious of elegance, changed this, as well as other animal ſymbols, into a human form, retaining the wings as the characteriſtic members, by which the meaning might be known. The human body, which they added to them, is that of a beautiful girl, ſometimes in the age of infancy, and ſometimes of approaching maturity. So beautiful an allegory as this would naturally be a favourite ſubject of art among a people whoſe taſte had attained the utmoſt pitch of refinement. We accordingly find that it has been more frequently and more variouſly repeated than any other which the ſyſtem of emanations, ſo favourable to art, could afford.

Although all men were ſuppoſed to partake of the divine emanation in a degree, it was not ſuppoſed that they all partook of it in an equal degree. Thoſe who ſhowed ſuperior abilities, and diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their ſplendid actions, were ſuppoſed to have a larger ſhare of the divine eſſence, and were therefore adored as gods, and honoured with divine titles, expreſſive of that particular attribute of the deity with which they ſeemed to be moſt favoured. New perſonages were thus enrolled among the allegorical deities; and the perſonified attributes of the ſun were confounded with a Cretan and Theſſalian king, an Aſiatic conqueror, and a Theban robber. Hence Pindar, who appears to have been a very orthodox heathen, ſays, that the race of men and gods is one, that both breathe from one mother, and only differ in power.[1] This confuſion of epithets and titles contributed, as much as any thing, to raiſe that vaſt and extravagant fabric of poetical mythology, which, in a manner, overwhelmed the ancient theology, which was too pure and philoſophical to continue long a popular religion. The grand and exalted ſyſtem of a general firſt cauſe, univerſally expanded, did not ſuit the groſs conceptions of the multitude; who had no other way of conceiving the idea of an omnipotent god, but by forming an exaggerated image of their own deſpot, and ſuppoſing his power to conſiſt in an unlimited gratification of his paſſions and appetites. Hence the univerſal Jupiter, the aweful and venerable, the general principle of life and motion, was transformed into the god who thundered from Mount Ida, and was lulled to ſleep in the embraces of his wife; and hence the god whoſe ſpirit moved[2] upon the face of the waters,

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[1] *Nem.* v. ver. 1.

[2] So the tranſlators have rendered the expreſſion of the original, which literally means brooding as a fowl on its eggs, and alludes to the ſymbols of the ancient theology, which I have before obſerved upon. See Patrick's *Commentary*..

and impregnated them with the powers of generation, became a great king above all gods, who led forth his people to ſmite the ungodly, and rooted out their enemies from before them.

Another great means of corrupting the ancient theology, and eſtabliſhing the poetical mythology, was the practice of the artiſts in repreſenting the various attributes of the creator under human forms of various character and expreſſion. Theſe figures, being diſtinguiſhed by the titles of the deity which they were meant to repreſent, became in time to be conſidered as diſtinct perſonages, and worſhipped as ſeparate ſubordinate deities. Hence the many-ſhaped god, the πολυμορφος and μυριομορφος of the ancient theologiſts, became divided into many gods and goddeſſes, often deſcribed by the poets as at variance with each other, and wrangling about the little intrigues and paſſions of men. Hence too, as the ſymbols were multiplied, particular ones loſt their dignity; and that venerable one which is the ſubject of this diſcourſe, became degraded from the repreſentative of the god of nature to a ſubordinate rural deity, a ſuppoſed ſon of the Aſiatic conqueror Bacchus, ſtanding among the nymphs by a fountain,[1] and expreſſing the fertility of a garden, inſtead of the general creative power of the great active principle of the univerſe. His degradation did not ſtop even here; for we find him, in times ſtill more prophane and corrupt, made a ſubject of raillery and inſult, as anſwering no better purpoſe than holding up his rubicund ſnout to frighten the birds and thieves.[2] His talents were alſo perverted from their natural ends, and employed in baſe and abortive efforts in conformity to the taſte of the times; for men naturally attribute their own paſſions and inclinations to the objects of their adoration; and as God made man in his own image, ſo man returns the favour, and makes God in his. Hence we find the higheſt attribute of the all-pervading ſpirit and firſt-

[1] Theocrit. Idyll. i. ver. 21. [2] Horat. lib. i. Sat. viii. Virg. *Georg.* iv.

begotten love foully proſtituted to promiſcuous vice, and calling out, *Hæc cunnum, caput hic, præbeat ille nates.*[1]

He continued however ſtill to have his temple, prieſteſs and ſacred geeſe,[2] and offerings of the moſt exquiſite kind were made to him:

Criſſabitque tibi excuſſis pulcherrima lumbis
Hoc anno primum experta puella virum.

Sometimes, however, they were not ſo ſcrupulous in the ſelection of their victims, but ſuffered frugality to reſtrain their devotion:

Cum ſacrum fieret Deo ſalaci
Conducta eſt pretio puella parvo.[3]

The bride was uſually placed upon him immediately before marriage; not, as Lactantius ſays, *ut ejus pudicitiam prior Deus prælibaſſe videatur*, but that ſhe might be rendered fruitful by her communion with the divine nature, and capable of fulfilling the duties of her ſtation. In an ancient poem[4] we find a lady of the name of Lalage preſenting the pictures of the "Elephantis" to him, and gravely requeſting that ſhe might enjoy the pleaſures over which he particularly preſided, in all the attitudes deſcribed in that celebrated treatiſe.[5] Whether or not ſhe ſucceeded, the poet has not informed us; but we may ſafely conclude that ſhe did not truſt wholly to faith and prayer, but, contrary to the uſual practice of modern devotees, accompanied her devotion with ſuch good works as were likely to contribute to the end propoſed by it.

When a lady had ſerved as the victim in a ſacrifice to this god, ſhe expreſſed her gratitude for the benefits received, by offering upon his altar certain ſmall images repreſenting his characteriſtic

[1] Priap. Carm. 21.
[2] Petron. *Satyric.*
[3] Priap. Carm. 34.
[4] Priap. Carm. 3.
[5] The *Elephantis* was written by one Philænis, and ſeems to have been of the ſame kind with the *Puttana errante* of Aretin.

attribute, the number of which was equal to the number of men who had acted as prieſts upon the occaſion.[1] On an antique gem, in the collection of Mr. Townley, is one of theſe fair victims, who appears juſt returned from a ſacrifice of this kind, and devoutly returning her thanks by offering upon an altar ſome of theſe images, from the number of which one may obſerve that ſhe has not been neglected.[2] This offering of thanks had alſo its myſtic and allegorical meaning; for fire being the energetic principle and eſſential force of the Creator, and the ſymbol above mentioned the viſible image of his characteriſtic attribute, the uniting them was uniting the material with the eſſential cauſe, from whoſe joint operation all things were ſuppoſed to proceed.

Theſe ſacrifices, as well as all thoſe to the deities preſiding over generation, were performed by night: hence Hippolytus, in Euripides, ſays, to expreſs his love of chaſtity, that he likes none of the gods revered by night.[3] Theſe acts of devotion were indeed attended with ſuch rites as muſt naturally ſhock the prejudices of a chaſte and temperate mind, not liable to be warmed by that ecſtatic enthuſiaſm which is peculiar to devout perſons when their attention is abſorbed in the contemplation of the beneficent powers of the Creator, and all their faculties directed to imitate him in the exertion of his great characteriſtic attribute. To heighten this enthuſiaſm, the male and female ſaints of antiquity uſed to lie promiſcuouſly together in the temples, and honour God by a liberal diſplay and general communication of his bounties.[4] Herodotus, indeed, excepts the Greeks and Egyptians, and Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, the Romans, from this general cuſtom of other nations; but to the teſtimony of the former we may oppoſe the thouſand ſacred proſtitutes kept at each of the temples of Corinth and

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[1] Priap. Carm. 34. *Ed. Scioppii.*

[2] See Plate III. Fig. 3.

[3] Ver. 613.

[4] Herodot. lib. ii.

Eryx;[1] and to that of the latter the expreſs words of Juvenal, who, though he lived an age later, lived when the ſame religion, and nearly the ſame manners, prevailed.[2] Diodorus Siculus alſo tells us, that when the Roman prætors viſited Eryx, they laid aſide their magiſterial ſeverity, and honoured the goddeſs by mixing with her votaries, and indulging themſelves in the pleaſures over which ſhe preſided.[3] It appears, too, that the act of generation was a ſort of ſacrament in the iſland of Leſbos; for the device on its medals (which in the Greek republics had always ſome relation to religion) is as explicit as forms can make it.[4] The figures appear indeed to be myſtic and allegorical, the male having evidently a mixture of the goat in his beard and features, and therefore probably repreſents Pan, the generative power of the univerſe, incorporated in univerſal matter. The female has all that breadth and fulneſs which characteriſe the perſonification of the paſſive power, known by the titles of Rhea, Juno, Ceres, &c.

When there were ſuch ſeminaries for female education as thoſe of Eryx and Corinth, we need not wonder that the ladies of antiquity ſhould be extremely well inſtructed in all the practical duties of their religion. The ſtories told of Julia and Meſſalina ſhow us that the Roman ladies were no ways deficient; and yet they were as remarkable for their gravity and decency as the Corinthians were for their ſkill and dexterity in adapting themſelves to all the modes and attitudes which the luxuriant imaginations of experienced votaries have contrived for performing the rites of their tutelar goddeſs.[5]

The reaſon why theſe rites were always performed by night, was the peculiar ſanctity attributed to it by the ancients, becauſe dreams were then ſuppoſed to deſcend from heaven to inſtruct and

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1 Strab. lib. viii. 2 *Sat.* ix. ver. 24. 3 Lib. iv. *Ed. Weſſel.*
4 See Plate ix. Fig. 8, from one belonging to me.
5 Philodemi *Epigr. Brunk. Analect.* vol. ii. p. 85.

forewarn men. The nights, ſays Heſiod, belong to the bleſſed gods;[1] and the Orphic poet calls night the ſource of all things (παντων γενεσις) to denote that productive power, which, as I have been told, it really poſſeſſes; it being obſerved that plants and animals grow more by night than by day. The ancients extended this power much further, and ſuppoſed that not only the productions of the earth, but the luminaries of heaven, were nouriſhed and ſuſtained by the benign influence of the night. Hence that beautiful apoſtrophe in the "Electra" of Euripides, Ω νυξ μελαινα, Χρυσεων αστρων τροφε, &c.

Not only the ſacrifices to the generative deities, but in general all the religious rites of the Greeks, were of the feſtive kind. To imitate the gods, was, in their opinion, to feaſt and rejoice, and to cultivate the uſeful and elegant arts, by which we are made partakers of their felicity.[2] This was the caſe with almoſt all the nations of antiquity, except the[3] Egyptians and their reformed imitators the Jews,[4] who being governed by a hierarchy, endeavoured to make it awful and venerable to the people by an appearance of rigour and auſterity. The people however, ſometimes broke through this reſtraint, and indulged themſelves in the more pleaſing worſhip of their neighbours, as when they danced and feaſted before the golden calf which Aaron erected,[5] and devoted themſelves to the worſhip of obſcene idols, generally ſuppoſed to be of Priapus, under the reign of Abijam.[6]

The Chriſtian religion, being a reformation of the Jewiſh, rather increaſed than diminiſhed the auſterity of its original. On particular occaſions however it equally abated its rigour, and gave way to feſtivity and mirth, though always with an air of ſanctity and

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[1] Εργ. ver. 730. [2] Strabo, lib. x. [3] Herodot. lib. ii.
[4] See Spencer *de Leg. Rit. Vet. Hebræor.* [5] *Exod.* ch. xxxii.
[6] *Reg.* c. xv. ver. 13. *Ed. Cleric.*

ſolemnity. Such were originally the feaſts of the Euchariſt, which, as the word expreſſes, were meetings of joy and gratulation; though, as divines tell us, all of the ſpiritual kind: but the particular manner in which St. Auguſtine commands the ladies who attended them to wear clean linen,[1] ſeems to infer, that perſonal as well as ſpiritual matters were thought worthy of attention. To thoſe who adminiſter the ſacrament in the modern way, it may appear of little conſequence whether the women received it in clean linen or not; but to the good biſhop, who was to adminiſter the *holy kiſs*, it certainly was of ſome importance. The *holy kiſs* was not only applied as a part of the ceremonial of the Euchariſt, but alſo of prayer, at the concluſion of which they welcomed each other with this natural ſign of love and benevolence.[2] It was upon theſe occaſions that they worked themſelves up to thoſe fits of rapture and enthuſiaſm, which made them eagerly ruſh upon deſtruction in the fury of their zeal to obtain the crown of martyrdom.[3] Enthuſiaſm on one ſubject naturally produces enthuſiaſm on another; for the human paſſions, like the ſtrings of an inſtrument, vibrate to the motions of each other: hence paroxyſms of love and devotion have oftentimes ſo exactly accorded, as not to have been diſtinguiſhed by the very perſons whom they agitated.[4] This was too often the caſe in theſe meetings of the primitive Chriſtians. The feaſts of gratulation and love, the αγαπαι and nocturnal vigils, gave too flattering opportunities to the paſſions and appetites of men, to continue long, what we are told they were at firſt, pure exerciſes of devotion. The ſpiritual raptures and divine ecſtaſies encouraged on theſe occaſions, were often ecſtaſies of a very different kind, concealed under the garb of devotion; whence the greateſt irregularities enſued; and it became neceſſary for the reputation of the church,

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[1] Aug. *Serm.* clii.
[2] Juſtin Martyr. *Apolog.*
[3] Martini Kempii *de Oſculis Diſſert.* viii.
[4] See *Procès de la Cadière.*

that they ſhould be ſuppreſſed, as they afterwards were by the decrees of ſeveral councils. Their ſuppreſſion may be conſidered as the final ſubverſion of that part of the ancient religion which I have here undertaken to examine; for ſo long as thoſe nocturnal meetings were preſerved, it certainly exiſted, though under other names, and in a more ſolemn dreſs. The ſmall remain of it preſerved at Iſernia, of which an account has here been given, can ſcarcely be deemed an exception; for its meaning was unknown to thoſe who celebrated it; and the obſcurity of the place, added to the venerable names of S. Coſimo and Damiano, was all that prevented it from being ſuppreſſed long ago, as it has been lately, to the great diſmay of the chaſte matrons and pious monks of Iſernia. Traces and memorials of it ſeem however to have been preſerved, in many parts of Chriſtendom, long after the actual celebration of its rites ceaſed. Hence the obſcene figures obſervable upon many of our Gothic Cathedrals, and particularly upon the ancient braſs doors of St. Peter's at Rome, where there are ſome groups which rival the devices on the Leſbian medals.

It is curious, in looking back through the annals of ſuperſtition, ſo degrading to the pride of man, to trace the progreſs of the human mind in different ages, climates, and circumſtances, uniformly acting upon the ſame principles, and to the ſame ends. The ſketch here given of the corruptions of the religion of Greece, is an exact counterpart of the hiſtory of the corruptions of Chriſtianity, which began in the pure theiſm of the eclectic Jews,[1] and by the help of inſpirations, emanations, and canonizations, expanded itſelf, by degrees, to the vaſt and unwieldy ſyſtem which now fills the creed of what is commonly called the Catholic Church. In the ancient religion, however, the emanations aſſumed the appearance of mor-

[1] Compare the doctrines of Philo with thoſe taught in the Goſpel of St. John, Epiſtles of St. Paul.

virtues and phyſical attributes, inſtead of miniſtering ſpirits and guardian angels; and the canonizations or deifications were beſtowed upon heroes, legiſlators, and monarchs, inſtead of prieſts, monks, and martyrs. There is alſo this further difference, that among the moderns philoſophy has improved, as religion has been corrupted; whereas, among the ancients, religion and philoſophy declined together. The true ſolar ſyſtem was taught in the Orphic ſchool, and adopted by the Pythagoreans, the next regularly-eſtabliſhed ſect. The Stoics corrupted it a little, by placing the earth in the centre of the univerſe, though they ſtill allowed the ſun its ſuperior magnitude.[1] At length aroſe the Epicureans, who confounded it entirely, maintaining that the ſun was only a ſmall globe of fire, a few inches in diameter, and the ſtars little tranſitory lights, whirled about in the atmoſphere of the earth.[2]

How ill ſoever adapted the ancient ſyſtem of emanations was to procure eternal happineſs, it was certainly extremely well calculated to produce temporal good; for, by the endleſs multiplication of ſubordinate deities, it effectually excluded two of the greateſt curſes that ever afflicted the human race, dogmatical theology, and its conſequent religious perſecution. Far from ſuppoſing that the gods known in their own country were the only ones exiſting, the Greeks thought that innumerable emanations of the divine mind were diffuſed through every part of the univerſe; ſo that new objects of devotion preſented themſelves wherever they went. Every mountain, ſpring, and river, had its tutelary deity, beſides the numbers of immortal ſpirits that were ſuppoſed to wander in the air, ſcattering dreams and viſions, and ſuperintending the affairs of men.

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[1] Brucker, *Hiſt. Crit. Philoſ.* p. ii. lib. ii. c. 9. ſ. i.

[2] Lucret. lib. v. ver. 565, & ſeq.

Τρις γαζ μυριοι εισιν επι χθονι πουλυβοτειρη
Αθανατοι Ζηνος, φυλακες θνητων ανθρωπων.[1]

An adequate knowledge of theſe they never preſumed to think attainable, but modeſtly contented themſelves with revering and invoking them whenever they felt or wanted their aſſiſtance. When a ſhipwrecked mariner was caſt upon an unknown coaſt, he immediately offered up his prayers to the gods of the country, whoever they were; and joined the inhabitants in whatever rites they thought proper to propitiate them with.[2] Impious or profane rites he never imagined could exiſt, concluding that all expreſſions of gratitude and ſubmiſſion muſt be pleaſing to the gods. Atheiſm was, indeed, puniſhed at Athens, as the obſcene ceremonies of the Bacchanalians were at Rome; but both as civil crimes againſt the ſtate; the one tending to weaken the bands of ſociety by deſtroying the ſanctity of oaths, and the other to ſubvert that decency and gravity of manners, upon which the Romans ſo much prided themſelves. The introduction of ſtrange gods, without permiſſion from the magiſtrate, was alſo prohibited in both cities; but the reſtriction extended no farther than the walls, there being no other parts of the Roman empire, except Judea, in which any kind of impiety or extravagance might not have been maintained with impunity, provided it was maintained merely as a ſpeculative opinion, and not employed as an engine of faction, ambition, or oppreſſion. The Romans even carried their condeſcenſion ſo far as to enforce the obſervance of a dogmatical religion, where they found it before eſtabliſhed; as appears from the conduct of their magiſtrates in Judea, relative to Chriſt and his apoſtles; and

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[1] Heſiod. *Εργα και Ἡμερ.* ver. 252, *μυριοι*, &c., are always uſed as indefinites by the ancient Greek poets.

[2] See Homer. *Odyſſ.* ϵ, ver. 445, & ſeq. The Greeks ſeem to have adopted by degrees into their own ritual all the rites practiſed in the neighbouring countries.

from what Joſephus has related, of a Roman ſoldier's being puniſhed with death by his commander for inſulting the Books of Moſes. Upon what principle then did they act, when they afterwards perſecuted the Chriſtians with ſo much rancour and cruelty? Perhaps it may ſurpriſe perſons not uſed to the ſtudy of eccleſiaſtical antiquities, to be told (what is nevertheleſs indiſputably true) that the Chriſtians were never perſecuted on account of the ſpeculative opinions of individuals, but either for civil crimes laid to their charge, or for withdrawing their allegiance from the ſtate, and joining in a federative union dangerous by its conſtitution, and rendered ſtill more dangerous by the intolerant principles of its members, who often tumultuouſly interrupted the public worſhip, and continually railed againſt the national religion (with which both the civil government and military diſcipline of the Romans were inſeparably connected), as the certain means of eternal damnation. To break this union, was the great object of Roman policy during a long courſe of years; but the violent means employed only tended to cement it cloſer. Some of the Chriſtians themſelves indeed, who were addicted to Platoniſm, took a ſafer method to diſſolve it; but they were too few in number to ſucceed. This was by trying to moderate the furious zeal which gave life and vigour to the confederacy, and to blend and ſoften the unyielding temper of religion with the mild ſpirit of philoſophy. "We all," ſaid they, "agree in worſhipping one ſupreme God, the Father and Preſerver of all. While we approach him with purity of mind, ſincerity of heart, and innocence of manners, forms and ceremonies of worſhip are indifferent; and not leſs worthy of his greatneſs, for being varied and diverſified according to the various cuſtoms and opinions of men. Had it been his will that all ſhould have worſhipped him in the ſame mode, he would have given to all the ſame inclinations and conceptions: but he has wiſely ordered it otherwiſe, that piety and virtue might increaſe by an honeſt

emulation of religions, as induſtry in trade, or activity in a race, from the mutual emulation of the candidates for wealth and honour."[1] This was too liberal and extenſive a plan, to meet the approbation of a greedy and ambitious clergy, whoſe object was to eſtabliſh a hierarchy for themſelves, rather than to procure happineſs for others. It was accordingly condemned with vehemence and ſucceſs by Ambroſius, Prudentius, and other orthodox leaders of the age.

It was from the ancient ſyſtem of emanations, that the general hoſpitality which characteriſed the manners of the heroic ages, and which is ſo beautifully repreſented in the *Odyſſey* of Homer, in a great meaſure aroſe. The poor, and the ſtranger who wandered in the ſtreet and begged at the door, were ſuppoſed to be animated by a portion of the ſame divine ſpirit which ſuſtained the great and powerful. *They are all from Jupiter*, ſays Homer, *and a ſmall gift is acceptable.*[2] This benevolent ſentiment has been compared by the Engliſh commentators to that of the Jewiſh moraliſt, who ſays, *that he who giveth to the poor lendeth to the Lord, who will repay him tenfold.*[3] But it is ſcarcely poſſible for anything to be more different: Homer promiſes no other reward for charity than the benevolence of the action itſelf; but the Iſraelite holds out that which has always been the great motive for charity among his countrymen—the proſpect of being repaid ten-fold. They are always ready to ſhow their bounty upon ſuch incentives, if they can be perſuaded that they are founded upon good ſecurity. It was the opinion, however, of many of the moſt learned among the ancients, that the principles of the Jewiſh religion were originally the ſame as thoſe of the Greek, and that their God was no other than the creator and generator Bacchus,[4] who, being viewed

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[1] Symmach. *Ep.* 10 & 61. Themiſt. *Orat ad Imperat.*

[2] *Odyſſ.* ζ, ver. 207. [3] See Pope's *Odyſſey.* [4] Tacit. *Hiſtor.* lib. v.

through the gloomy medium of the hierarchy, appeared to them a jealous and irascible God; and so gave a more austere and unsociable form to their devotion. The golden vine preserved in the temple at Jerusalem,[1] and the taurine forms of the cherubs, between which the Deity was supposed to reside, were symbols so exactly similar to their own, that they naturally concluded them meant to express the same ideas; especially as there was nothing in the avowed principles of the Jewish worship to which they could be applied. The ineffable name also, which, according to the Massorethic punctuation, is pronounced *Jehovah*, was anciently pronounced *Jaho*, Ιαω, or Ιευω,[2] which was a title of Bacchus, the nocturnal sun;[3] as was also *Sabazius*, or *Sabadius*,[4] which is the same word as *Sabbaoth*, one of the scriptural titles of the true God, only adapted to the pronunciation of a more polished language. The Latin name for the Supreme God belongs also to the same root; Ιυ-πατηρ, Jupiter, signifying Father Ιευ', though written after the ancient manner, without the diphthong, which was not in use for many ages after the Greek colonies settled in Latium, and introduced the Arcadian alphabet. We find St. Paul likewise acknowledging, that the Jupiter of the poet Aratus was the God whom he adored;[5] and Clemens of Alexandria explains St. Peter's prohibition of worshipping after the manner of the Greeks, not to mean a prohibition of worshipping the same God, but merely of the corrupt mode in which he was then worshipped.[6]

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[1] The vine and goblet of Bacchus are also the usual devices upon the Jewish and Samaritan coins, which were struck under the Asmonean kings.

[2] Hieron. *Comm. in Psalm.* viii. Diodor. Sic. lib. i. Philo-Bybl. *ap. Euseb. Prep. Evang.* lib. 1. c. ix.

[3] Macrob. *Sat.* lib. 1. c. xviii. [4] Ibid. [5] *Act. Apost.* c. xvii. ver. 28.

[6] Stromat. lib. v.

FINIS.

ON THE WORSHIP OF THE GENERATIVE POWERS DURING THE MIDDLE AGES OF WESTERN EUROPE.

ON THE WORSHIP OF THE GENERATIVE POWERS DURING THE MIDDLE AGES OF WESTERN EUROPE.

RICHARD PAYNE KNIGHT has written with great learning on the origin and hiſtory of the worſhip of Priapus among the ancients. This worſhip, which was but a part of that of the generative powers, appears to have been the moſt ancient of the ſuperſtitions of the human race,[1] has prevailed more or leſs among all known peoples before the introduction of Chriſtianity, and, ſingularly enough, ſo deeply it ſeems to have been implanted in human nature, that even the promulgation of the Goſpel did not aboliſh it, for it continued to exiſt, accepted and often encouraged by the mediæval clergy. The occaſion of Payne Knight's work

[1] There appears to be a chance of this worſhip being claimed for a very early period in the hiſtory of the human race. It has been recently ſtated in the "Moniteur," that, in the province of Venice, in Italy, excavations in a bone-cave have brought to light, beneath ten feet of ſtalagmite, bones of animals, moſtly poſt-tertiary, of the uſual deſcription found in ſuch places, flint implements, with a needle of bone having an eye and point, and a plate of an argillaceous compound, on which was ſcratched a rude drawing of a phallus.—*Moniteur*, Jan. 1865.

was the diſcovery that this worſhip continued to prevail in his time, in a very remarkable form, at Iſernia in the kingdom of Naples, a full deſcription of which will be found in his work. The town of Iſernia was deſtroyed, with a great portion of its inhabitants, in the terrible earthquake which ſo fearfully devaſtated the kingdom of Naples on the 26th of July, 1805, nineteen years after the appearance of the book alluded to. Perhaps with it periſhed the laſt trace of the worſhip of Priapus in this particular form; but Payne Knight was not acquainted with the fact that this ſuperſtition, in a variety of forms, prevailed throughout Southern and Weſtern Europe largely during the Middle Ages, and that in ſome parts it is hardly extinct at the preſent day; and, as its effects were felt to a more conſiderable extent than people in general ſuppoſe in the moſt intimate and important relations of ſociety, whatever we can do to throw light upon its mediæval exiſtence, though not an agreeable ſubject, cannot but form an important and valuable contribution to the better knowledge of mediæval hiſtory. Many intereſting facts relating to this ſubject were brought together in a volume publiſhed in Paris by Monſieur J. A. Dulaure, under the title, *Des Divinités Génératrices chez les Anciens et les Modernes*, forming part of an *Hiſtoire Abrégée des différens Cultes*, by the ſame author.[1] This book, however, is ſtill very imperfect; and it is the deſign of the following pages to give, with the moſt intereſting of the facts already collected by Dulaure, other facts and a deſcription and explanation of monuments, which tend to throw a greater and more general light on this curious ſubject.

The mediæval worſhip of the generative powers, repreſented by the generative organs, was derived from two diſtinct ſources. In the firſt place, Rome invariably carried into the provinces ſhe had

[1] The ſecond edition of this work, publiſhed in 1825, is by much the beſt, and is conſiderably enlarged from the firſt.

conquered her own inſtitutions and forms of worſhip, and eſtabliſhed them permanently. In exploring the antiquities of theſe provinces, we are aſtoniſhed at the abundant monuments of the worſhip of Priapus in all the ſhapes and with all the attributes and accompaniments, with which we are already ſo well acquainted in Rome and Italy. Among the remains of Roman civilization in Gaul, we find ſtatues or ſtatuettes of Priapus, altars dedicated to him, the gardens and fields entruſted to his care, and the phallus, or male member, figured in a variety of ſhapes as a protecting power againſt evil influences of various kinds. With this idea the well-known figure was ſculptured on the walls of public buildings, placed in conſpicuous places in the interior of the houſe, worn as an ornament by women, and ſuſpended as an amulet to the necks of children. Erotic ſcenes of the moſt extravagant deſcription covered veſſels of metal, earthenware, and glaſs, intended, no doubt, for feſtivals and uſages more or leſs connected with the worſhip of the principle of fecundity.

At Aix in Provence there was found, on or near the ſite of the ancient baths, to which it had no doubt ſome relation, an enormous phallus, encircled with garlands, ſculptured in white marble. At Le Chatelet, in Champagne, on the ſite of a Roman town, a coloſſal phallus was alſo found. Similar objects in bronze, and of ſmaller dimenſions, are ſo common, that explorations are ſeldom carried on upon a Roman ſite in which they are not found, and examples of ſuch objects abound in the muſeums, public or private, of Roman antiquities. The phallic worſhip appears to have flouriſhed eſpecially at Nemauſus, now repreſented by the city of Nîmes in the ſouth of France, where the ſymbol of this worſhip appeared in ſculpture on the walls of its amphitheatre and on other buildings, in forms ſome of which we can hardly help regarding as fanciful, or even playful. Some of the more remarkable of theſe are figured in our plates, xxv and xxvi.

The firſt of theſe,[1] is the figure of a double phallus. It is ſculptured on the lintel of one of the vomitories, or iſſues, of the ſecond range of ſeats of the Roman amphitheatre, near the entrance-gate which looks to the ſouth. The double and the triple phallus are very common among the ſmall Roman bronzes, which appear to have ſerved as amulets and for other ſimilar purpoſes. In the latter, one phallus uſually ſerves as the body, and is furniſhed with legs, generally thoſe of the goat; a ſecond occupies the uſual place of this organ; and a third appears in that of a tail. On a pilaſter of the amphitheatre of Nîmes we ſee a triple phallus of this deſcription,[2] with goat's legs and feet. A ſmall bell is ſuſpended to the ſmaller phallus in front; and the larger organ which forms the body is furniſhed with wings. The picture is completed by the introduction of three birds, two of which are pecking the unveiled head of the principal phallus, while the third is holding down the tail with its foot.

Several examples of theſe triple phalli occur in the *Muſée Secret* of the antiquities of Herculaneum and Pompeii. In the examples figured in that work, the hind part of the main phallus aſſumes clearly the form of a dog;[3] and to moſt of them are attached ſmall bells, the explanation of which appears as yet to be very unſatisfactory. The wings alſo are common attributes of the phallus in theſe monuments. Plutarch is quoted as an authority for the explanation of the triple phallus as intended to ſignify multiplication of its productive faculty.[4]

On the top of another pilaſter of the amphitheatre at Nîmes, to the right of the principal weſtern entrance, was a bas-relief, alſo

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[1] Plate xxv, Fig. 1. [2] See our Plate xxv, Fig. 2.

[3] The writer of the text to the *Muſée Secret* ſuppoſes that this circumſtance has ſome reference to the double meaning given to the Greek word κύων, which was used for the generative organ.

[4] See Auguſte Pelet, *Catalogue du Muſée de Nîmes.*

repreſenting a triple phallus, with legs of dog, and winged, but with a further accompaniment.[1] A female, dreſſed in the Roman ſtola, ſtands upon the phallus forming the tail, and holds both it and the one forming the body with a bridle.[2] This bas-relief was taken down in 1829, and is now preſerved in the muſeum of Nîmes.

A ſtill more remarkable monument of this claſs was found in the courſe of excavations made at Nîmes in 1825. It is engraved in our plate xxvi, and repreſents a bird, apparently intended for a vulture, with ſpread wings and phallic tail, ſitting on four eggs, each of which is deſigned, no doubt, to repreſent the female organ. The local antiquaries give to this, as to the other ſimilar objects, an emblematical ſignification; but it may perhaps be more rightly regarded as a playful conception of the imagination. A ſimilar deſign, with ſome modifications, occurs not unfrequently among Gallo-Roman antiquities. We have engraved a figure of the triple phallus governed, or guided, by the female,[3] from a ſmall bronze plate, on which it appears in bas-relief; it is now preſerved in a private collection in London, with a duplicate, which appears to have been caſt from the ſame mould, though the plate is cut through, and they were evidently intended for ſuſpenſion from the neck. Both came from the collection of M. Baudot of Dijon. The lady here bridles only the principal phallus; the legs are, as in the monument laſt deſcribed, thoſe of a bird, and it is ſtanding upon three eggs, apple-formed, and repreſenting the organ of the other ſex.

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[1] Plate xxv, Fig. 3.

[2] A French antiquary has given an emblematical interpretation of this figure. "Perhaps," he ſays, "it ſignifies the empire of woman extending over the three ages of man; on youth, characterized by the bell; on the age of vigour, the ardour of which ſhe reſtrains; and on old age, which ſhe ſuſtains." This is perhaps more ingenious than convincing.

[3] See our Plate xxxvi, Fig. 3.

In regard to this laſt-mentioned object, another very remarkable monument of what appears at Nîmes to have been by no means a ſecret worſhip, was found there during ſome excavations on the ſite of the Roman baths. It is a ſquared maſs of ſtone, the four ſides of which, like the one repreſented in our engraving, are covered with ſimilar figures of the ſexual characteriſtics of the female, arranged in rows.[1] It has evidently ſerved as a baſe, probably to a ſtatue, or poſſibly to an altar. This curious monument is now preſerved in the muſeum at Nîmes.

As Nîmes was evidently a centre of this Priapic worſhip in the ſouth of Gaul, ſo there appear to have been, perhaps leſſer, centres in other parts, and we may trace it to the northern extremities of the Roman province, even to the other ſide of the Rhine. On the ſite of Roman ſettlements near Xanten, in lower Heſſe, a large quantity of pottery and other objects have been found, of a character to leave no doubt as to the prevalence of this worſhip in that quarter.[2] But the Roman ſettlement which occupied the ſite of the modern city of Antwerp appears to have been one of the moſt remarkable ſeats of the worſhip of Priapus in the north of Gaul, and it continued to exiſt there till a comparatively modern period.

When we croſs over to Britain we find this worſhip eſtabliſhed no leſs firmly and extenſively in that iſland. Statuettes of Priapus, phallic bronzes, pottery covered with obſcene pictures, are found wherever there are any extenſive remains of Roman occupation, as our antiquaries know well. The numerous phallic figures in bronze, found in England, are perfectly identical in character with thoſe

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[1] See Plate xxv, Fig. 4.

[2] Two Roman towns, Caſtra Vetera and Colonia Trajana, ſtood within no great diſtance of Xanten, and Ph. Houben, a "notarius" of this town, formed a private muſeum of antiquities found there, and in 1839 publiſhed engravings of them, with a text by Dr. Franz Fiedler. The erotic objects form a ſeparate work under the title, *Antike erotiſche Bildwerke in Houbens Antiquarium zu Xanten.*

which occur in France and in Italy. In illuſtration of this fact, we give two examples of the triple phallus, which appears to have been, perhaps in accordance with the explanation given by Plutarch, an amulet in great favour. The firſt was found in London in 1842.[1] As in the examples found on the continent, a principal phallus forms the body, having the hinder parts of apparently a dog, with wings of a peculiar form, perhaps intended for thoſe of a dragon. Several ſmall rings are attached, no doubt for the purpoſe of ſuſpending bells. Our ſecond example[2] was found at York in 1844. It diſplays a peculiarity of action which, in this caſe at leaſt, leaves no doubt that the hinder parts were intended to be thoſe of a dog. All antiquaries of any experience know the great number of obſcene ſubjects which are met with among the fine red pottery which is termed Samian ware, found ſo abundantly in all Roman ſites in our iſland. They repreſent erotic ſcenes in every ſenſe of the word, promiſcuous intercourſe between the ſexes, even vices contrary to nature, with figures of Priapus, and phallic emblems. We give as an example one of the *leſs* exceptionable ſcenes of this deſcription, copied from a Samian bowl found in Cannon Street, London, in 1838.[3] The lamps, chiefly of earthenware, form another claſs of objects on which ſuch ſcenes are frequently pourtrayed, and to which broadly phallic forms are ſometimes given. One of theſe phallic lamps is here repreſented, on the ſame plate with the bowl of Samian ware juſt deſcribed.[4] It is hardly neceſſary to explain the ſubject repreſented by this lamp, which was found in London a few years ago.

All this obſcene pottery muſt be regarded, no doubt, as a proof of a great amount of diſſoluteneſs in the morals of Roman ſociety in Britain, but it is evidence of ſomething more. It is hardly likely

[1] See Plate xxvii, Fig. 3.
[2] Plate xxvii, Fig. 4.
[3] Plate xxvii, Fig. 1.
[4] Plate xxvii, Fig. 2.

that ſuch objects could be in common uſe at the family table; and we are led to ſuppoſe that they were employed on ſpecial occaſions, feſtivals, perhaps, connected with the licentious worſhip of which we are ſpeaking, and ſuch as thoſe deſcribed in ſuch ſtrong terms in the ſatires of Juvenal. But monuments are found in this iſland which bear ſtill more direct evidence to the exiſtence of the worſhip of Priapus during the Roman period.

In the pariſh of Adel, in Yorkſhire, are conſiderable traces of a Roman ſtation, which appears to have been a place of ſome importance, and which certainly poſſeſſed temples. On the ſite of theſe were found altars, and other ſtones with inſcriptions, which, after being long preſerved in an outhouſe of the rectory at Adel, are now depoſited in the muſeum of the Philoſophical Society at Leeds. One of the moſt curious of theſe, which we have here engraved for the firſt time,[1] appears to be a votive offering to Priapus, who ſeems to be addreſſed under the name of Mentula. It is a rough, unſquared ſtone, which has been ſelected for poſſeſſing a tolerably flat and ſmooth ſurface; and the figure and letters were made with a rude implement, and by an unſkilled workman, who was evidently unable to cut a continuous ſmooth line. The middle of the ſtone is occupied by the figure of a phallus, and round it we read very diſtinctly the words:—

PRIMINVS MENTLA.

The author of the inſcription may have been an ignorant Latiniſt as well as an unſkilful ſculptor, and perhaps miſtook the ligulated letters, overlooking the limb which would make the L ſtand for VL, and giving A for AE. It would then read *Priminus Mentulæ*, Priminus to Mentula (the object perſonified), and it may have

[1] Plate xxviii, Fig. 1.

been a votive offering from ſome individual named Priminus, who was in want of a heir, or laboured under ſome ſexual infirmity, to Priapus, whoſe aſſiſtance he ſought. Another interpretation has been ſuggeſted, on the ſuppoſition that Mentla, or perhaps (the L being deſigned for IL ligulated) Mentila or Mentilla, might be the name of a female joined with her huſband in this offering for their common good. The former of theſe interpretations ſeems, however, to be the moſt probable. This monument belongs probably to rather a late date in the Roman period. Another *ex voto* of the ſame claſs was found at Weſterwood Fort in Scotland, one of the Roman fortreſſes on the wall of Antoninus. This monument[1] conſiſted of a ſquare ſlab of ſtone, in the middle of which was a phallus, and under it the words EX · VOTO. Above were the letters XAN, meaning, perhaps, that the offerer had laboured *ten years* under the grievance of which he ſought redreſs from Priapus. We may point alſo to a phallic monument of another kind, which reminds us in ſome degree of the finer ſculptures at Nîmes. At Houſeſteads, in Northumberland, are ſeen the extenſive and impoſing remains of one of the Roman ſtations on the Wall of Hadrian named Borcovicus. The walls of the entrance gateways are eſpecially well preſerved, and on that of the guard-houſe attached to one of them, is a ſlab of ſtone preſenting the figure given in our plate XXVIII, fig. 3. It is a rude delineation of a phallus with the legs of a fowl, and reminds us of ſome of the monuments in France and Italy previouſly deſcribed. Theſe phallic images were no doubt expoſed in ſuch ſituations becauſe they were ſuppoſed to exerciſe a protective influence over the locality, or

[1] See Plate XXVIII, Fig. 2. Horſeley, who engraved this monument in his *Britannia Romana*, Scotland, fig. xix. has inſerted a fig-leaf in place of the phallus, but with ſlight indications of the form of the object it was intended to conceal. We are not aware if this monument is ſtill in exiſtence.

over the building, and the individual who looked upon the figure believed himſelf ſafe, during that day at leaſt, from evil influences of various deſcriptions. They are found, we believe, in ſome other Roman ſtations, in a ſimilar poſition to that of the phallus at Houſeſteads.

Although the worſhip of which we are treating prevailed ſo extenſively among the Romans and throughout the Roman provinces, it was far from being peculiar to them, for the ſame ſuperſtition formed part of the religion of the Teutonic race, and was carried with that race wherever it ſettled. The Teutonic god, who anſwered to the Roman Priapus, was called, in Anglo-Saxon, Fréa, in Old Norſe, Freyr, and, in Old German, Fro. Among the Swedes, the principal ſeat of his worſhip was at Upſala, and Adam of Bremen, who lived in the eleventh century, when paganiſm ſtill retained its hold on the north, in deſcribing the forms under which the gods were there repreſented, tells us that "the third of the gods at Upſala was Fricco [another form of the name], who beſtowed on mortals peace and pleaſure, and who was repreſented *with an immenſe priapus;*" and he adds that, at the celebration of marriages, they offered ſacrifice to Fricco.[1] This god, indeed, like the Priapus of the Romans, preſided over generation and fertility, either of animal life or of the produce of the earth, and was invoked accordingly. Ihre, in his *Gloſſarium Sueco-Gothicum*, mentions objects of antiquity dug up in the north of Europe, which clearly prove the prevalence of phallic rites. To this deity, or to his female repreſentative of the ſame name, the Teutonic Venus, Friga, the fifth day of the week was dedicated, and on that account received its name, in Anglo-Saxon, Frige-dæg, and in modern Engliſh Friday. Frigedæg appears

1 "Tertius eſt Fricco, pacem voluptatemque largiens mortalibus, cujus etiam ſimu lachrum fingunt ingenti priapo; ſi nuptiæ celebrandæ ſunt, Fricconi [ſacrificia off runt.]"—Adam Bremens, *De Situ Daniæ*, p. 23, ed. 1629.

to have been a name ſometimes given in Anglo-Saxon to Frea himſelf; in a charter of the date of 959, printed in Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus*, one of the marks on a boundary-line of land is Frigedæges-Tréow, meaning apparently Frea's tree, which was probably a tree dedicated to that god, and the ſcene of Priapic rites. There is a place called Fridaythorpe in Yorkſhire, and Friſton, a name which occurs in ſeveral parts of England, means, probably, the ſtone of Frea or of Friga; and we ſeem juſtified in ſuppoſing that this and other names commencing with the ſyllable Fri or Fry, are ſo many monuments of the exiſtence of the phallic worſhip among our Anglo-Saxon forefathers. Two cuſtoms cheriſhed among our old Engliſh popular ſuperſtitions are believed to have been derived from this worſhip, the need-fires, and the proceſſion of the boar's head at the Chriſtmas feſtivities. The former were fires kindled at the period of the ſummer ſolſtice, and were certainly in their origin religious obſervances. The boar was intimately connected with the worſhip of Frea.[1]

From our want of a more intimate knowledge of this part of Teutonic paganiſm, we are unable to decide whether ſome of the ſuperſtitious practices of the middle ages were derived from the Romans or from the peoples who eſtabliſhed themſelves in the provinces after the overthrow of the weſtern empire; but in Italy and in Gaul (the ſouthern parts eſpecially), where the Roman inſtitutions and ſentiments continued with more perſiſtence to hold their influence, it was the phallic worſhip of the Romans which, gradually modified in its forms, was thus preſerved, and, though the records of ſuch a worſhip are naturally accidental and imperfect, yet we can diſtinctly trace its exiſtence to a very late period. Thus, we have clear evidence that the phallus, in its ſimple form, was worſhipped by the mediæval Chriſtians, and that the forms of Chriſtian prayer

[1] See Grimm's Deutſche Mythologie, p. 139, firſt edition.

and invocation were actually addreſſed to it. One name of the male organ among the Romans was *faſcinum;* it was under this name that it was ſuſpended round the necks of women and children, and under this name eſpecially it was ſuppoſed to poſſeſs magical influences which not only acted upon others, but defended thoſe who were under its protection from magical or other evil influences from without. Hence are derived the words to *faſcinate* and *faſcination.* The word is uſed by Horace, and eſpecially in the epigrams of the *Priapeia,* which may be conſidered in ſome degree as the exponents of the popular creed in theſe matters. Thus we have in one of theſe epigrams the lines,—

> "Placet, Priape? qui ſub arboris coma
> Soles, ſacrum revincte pampino caput,
> Ruber ſedere cum rubente *faſcino.*"
>
> *Priap. Carm.* lxxxiv.

It ſeems probable that this had become the popular, or vulgar, word for the phallus, at leaſt taken in this point of view, at the cloſe of the Roman power, for the firſt very diſtinct traces of its worſhip which we find afterwards introduce it under this name, which ſubſequently took in French the form *feſne.* The mediæval worſhip of the *faſcinum* is firſt ſpoken of in the eighth century. An eccleſiaſtical tract entitled *Judicia Sacerdotalia de Criminibus,*[1] which is aſcribed to the end of that century, directs that "if any one has performed incantation to the *faſcinum,* or any incantation whatever, except any one who chaunts the Creed or the Lord's Prayer, let him do penance on bread and water during three lents." An act of the

[1] Martène and Durand, *Veterum Scriptorum Ampliſſima Collectio,* tom. vii, p. 35. Si quis præcantaverit ad faſcinum, velqualeſcumque præcantationes excepto ſymbolo aut ſanctum aut orationem dominicam qui cantat et cui cantatur, tres quadrigeſimas in pane et aqua pœniteat.

council of Châlons, held in the ninth century, prohibits the ſame practice almoſt in the ſame words; and Burchardus repeats it again in the twelfth century,[1] a proof of the continued exiſtence of this worſhip. That it was in full force long after this is proved by the ſtatutes of the ſynod of Mans, held in 1247, which enjoin ſimilarly the puniſhment for him "who has ſinned to the *faſcinum*, or has performed any incantations, except the creed, the pater noſter, or other canonical prayer."[2] This ſame proviſion was adopted and renewed in the ſtatutes of the ſynod of Tours, held in 1396, in which, as they were publiſhed in French, the Latin *faſcinum* is repreſented by the French *feſne*. The *faſcinum* to which ſuch worſhip was directed muſt have been ſomething more than a ſmall amulet.

This brings us to the cloſe of the fourteenth century, and ſhows us how long the outward worſhip of the generative powers, repreſented by their organs, continued to exiſt in Weſtern Europe to ſuch a point as to engage the attention of eccleſiaſtical ſynods. During the previous century facts occurred in our own iſland illuſtrating ſtill more curiouſly the continuous exiſtence of the worſhip of Priapus, and that under circumſtances which remind us altogether of the details of the phallic worſhip under the Romans. It will be remembered that one great object of this worſhip was to obtain fertility either in animals or in the ground, for Priapus was the god of the horticulturiſt and the agriculturiſt. St. Auguſtine, declaiming againſt the open obſcenities of the Roman feſtival of the Liberalia, informs us that an enormous phallus was carried in a

[1] D. Burchardi *Decretorum libri*, lib. x, c. 49.

[2] Martene et Durand, *Ampliſſima Collectio Veterum Scriptorum*, tom. vii, col. 1377. *Si peccaverit ad faſcinum, vel qualeſcumque præcantationes fecerit, excepto ſymbolo et oratione dominica, vel alia oratione canonica, et qui cantat, et cui cantatur, tres quadrageſimas pœniteat.*

magnificent chariot into the middle of the public place of the town with great ceremony, where the moſt reſpectable matron advanced and placed a garland of flowers "on this obſcene figure;" and this, he ſays, was done to appeaſe the god, and "to obtain an abundant harveſt, and remove enchantments from the land."[1] We learn from the Chronicle of Lanercoſt that, in the year 1268, a peſtilence prevailed in the Scottiſh diſtrict of Lothian, which was very fatal to the cattle, to counteract which ſome of the clergy—*beſtiales, habitu clauſtrales, non animo*—taught the peaſantry to make a fire by the rubbing together of wood (this was the need-fire), and to raiſe up the image of Priapus, as a means of ſaving their cattle. "When a lay member of the Ciſtercian order at Fenton had done this before the door of the hall, and had ſprinkled the cattle with a dog's teſticles dipped in holy water, and complaint had been made of this crime of idolatry againſt the lord of the manor, the latter pleaded in his defence that all this was done without his knowledge and in his abſence, but added, 'while until the preſent month of June other people's cattle fell ill and died, mine were always ſound, but now every day two or three of mine die, ſo that I have few left for the labours of the field.'"[2] Fourteen years after this, in 1282, an event of the ſame kind occurred at Inver-

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[1] S. Auguſtini *De Civit. Dei,* lib. vii, c. 21.

[2] Pro fidei divinæ integritate ſervanda recolat lector quod, cum hoc anno in Laodonia peſtis graſſaretur in pecudes armenti, quam vocant uſitate lungeſſouth, quidam beſtiales, habitu clauſtrales non animo, docebant idiotas patriæ ignem confrictione de lignis educere, et ſimulacrum Priapi ſtatuere, et per hæc beſtiis ſuccurrere. Quod cum unus laicus Ciſtercienſis apud Fentone feciſſet ante atrium aulæ, ac intinctis teſticulis canis in aquam benedictam ſuper animalia ſparſiſſet; ac pro invento facinore idolatriæ dominus villæ a quodam fideli argueretur, ille pro ſua innocentia obtendebat, quod ipſo neſciente et abſente fuerant hæc omnia perpetrata, et adjecit, "et cum ad uſque hunc menſem Junium aliorum animalia languerent et deficerent, mea ſemper ſana erant, nunc vero quotidie mihi moriuntur duo vel tria, ita quod agricultui pauca ſuperſunt."—*Chron. de Lanercoſt.* ed. Stevenſon, p. 85.

keithing, in the preſent county of Fife in Scotland. The cauſe of the following proceedings is not ſtated, but it was probably the ſame as that for which the ciſtercian of Lothian had recourſe to the worſhip of Priapus. In the Eaſter week of the year juſt ſtated (March 29—April 5), a pariſh prieſt of Inverkeithing, named John, performed the rites of Priapus, by collecting the young girls of the town, and making them dance round the figure of this god; without any regard for the ſex of theſe worſhippers, he carried a wooden image of the male members of generation before them in the dance, and himſelf dancing with them, he accompanied their ſongs with movements in accordance, and urged them to licentious actions by his no leſs licentious language. The more modeſt part of thoſe who were preſent felt ſcandalized by theſe proceedings, and expoſtulated with the prieſt, but he treated their words with contempt, and only gave utterance to coarſer obſcenities. He was cited before his biſhop, defended himſelf upon the common uſage of the country, and was allowed to retain his benefice; but he muſt have been rather a worldly prieſt, after the ſtyle of the middle ages, for a year afterwards he was killed in a vulgar brawl.[1]

The practice of placing the figure of a phallus on the walls of buildings, derived, as we have ſeen, from the Romans, prevailed alſo in the middle ages, and the buildings eſpecially placed under the influence of this ſymbol were churches. It was believed to be

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[1] Inſuper hoc tempore apud Inverchethin, in hebdomeda paſchæ (March 29—April 5), ſacerdos parochialis, nomine Johannes, Priapi prophana parans, congregatis ex villa puellulis, cogebat eas, choreis factis, Libero patri circuire; ut ille feminas in exercitu habuit, ſic iſte, procacitatis cauſa, membra humana virtuti ſeminariæ ſervientia ſuper aſſerem artificiata ante talem choream præferebat, et ipſe tripudians cum cantantibus motu mimico omnes inſpectantes et verbo impudico ad luxuriam incitabat. Hi qui honeſto matrimonio honorem deferebant, tam inſolenti officio, licet reverentur perſonam, ſcandalizabantur propter gradus eminentiam. Si quis ei ſeorſum ex amore correptionis ſermonem inferret, fiebat deterior, et conviciis eos impetebat.—*Chron. de Lancercoſt.* ed. Stevenſon, p. 109.

a protection againſt enchantments of all kinds, of which the people of thoſe times lived in conſtant terror, and this protection extended over the place and over thoſe who frequented it, provided they caſt a confiding look upon the image. Such images were ſeen, uſually upon the portals, on the cathedral church of Toulouſe, on more than one church in Bourdeaux, and on various other churches in France, but, at the time of the revolution, they were often deſtroyed as marks only of the depravity of the clergy. Dulaure tells us that an artiſt, whom he knew, but whoſe name he has not given, had made drawings of a number of theſe figures which he had met with in ſuch ſituations.[1] A Chriſtian ſaint exerciſed ſome of the qualities thus deputed to Priapus; the image of St. Nicholas was uſually painted in a conſpicuous poſition in the church, for it was believed that whoever had looked upon it was protected againſt enchantments, and eſpecially againſt that great object of popular terror the evil eye, during the reſt of the day.

It is a ſingular fact that in Ireland it was the female organ which was ſhown in this poſition of protector upon the churches, and the elaborate though rude manner in which theſe figures were ſculptured, ſhow that they were conſidered as objects of great importance. They repreſented a female expoſing herſelf to view in the moſt unequivocal manner, and are carved on a block which appears to have ſerved as the key-ſtone to the arch of the door-way of the church, where they were preſented to the gaze of all who entered. They appear to have been found principally in the very old churches, and have been moſtly taken down, ſo that they are only found among the ruins. People have given them the name of

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[1] He adds in a note: — "Les deſſins de cet artiſte, deſtinés à l'Académie des Belles Lettres, ſont paſſés, on ne ſait comment, entre les mains d'un particulier qui en prive le public."—J. A. Dulaure, *Hiſtoire de différens Cultes*, tom. ii. p. 251, 8vo. 1825.

Shelah-na-Gig, which, we are told, means in Iriſh Julian the Giddy, and is ſimply a term for an immodeſt woman; but it is well underſtood that they were intended as protecting charms againſt the faſcination of the evil eye. We have given copies of all the examples yet known in our plates xxix and xxx. The firſt of theſe[1] was found in an old church at Rocheſtown, in the county of Tipperary, where it had long been known among the people of the neighbourhood by the name given above. It was placed in the arch over the doorway, but has ſince been taken away. Our ſecond example of the Shelah-na-Gig[2] was taken from an old church lately pulled down in the county Cavan, and is now preſerved in the muſeum of the Society of Antiquaries of Dublin. The third[3] was found at Ballinahend Caſtle, alſo in the county of Tipperary; and the fourth[4] is preſerved in the muſeum at Dublin, but we are not informed from whence it was obtained. The next,[5] which is alſo now preſerved in the Dublin Muſeum, was taken from the old church on the White Iſland, in Lough Erne, county Fermanagh. This church is ſuppoſed by the Iriſh antiquaries to be a ſtructure of very great antiquity, for ſome of them would carry its date as far back as the ſeventh century, but this is probably an exaggeration. The one which follows[6] was furniſhed by an old church pulled down by order of the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners, and it was preſented to the muſeum at Dublin, by the late dean Dawſon. Our laſt example[7] was formerly in the poſſeſſion of Sir Benjamin Chapman, Bart., of Killoa Caſtle, Weſtmeath, and is now in a private collection in London. It was found in 1859 at Chloran, in a field on Sir Benjamin's eſtate known by the name of the "Old Town," from whence ſtones had

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1 Plate xxix, Fig. 1.
2 Plate xxix, Fig. 2.
3 Plate xxix, Fig. 3.
4 Plate xxix, Fig. 4.
5 Plate xxx, Fig. 1.
6 Plate xxx, Fig. 2.
7 Plate xxx, Fig. 3.

been removed at previous periods, though there are now very ſmall remains of building. This ſtone was found at a depth of about five feet from the ſurface, which ſhows that the building, a church no doubt, muſt have fallen into ruin a long time ago. Contiguous to this field, and at a diſtance of about two hundred yards from the ſpot where the Shelah-na-Gig was found, there is an abandoned churchyard, ſeparated from the Old Town field only by a looſe ſtone wall.

The belief in the ſalutary power of this image appears to be a ſuperſtition of great antiquity, and to exiſt ſtill among all peoples who have not reached a certain degree of civilization. The univerſality of this ſuperſtition leads us to think that Herodotus may have erred in the explanation he has given of certain rather remarkable monuments of a remote antiquity. He tells us that Seſoſtris, king of Egypt, raiſed columns in ſome of the countries he conquered, on which he cauſed to be figured the female organ of generation as a mark of contempt for thoſe who had ſubmitted eaſily.[1] May not theſe columns have been intended, if we knew the truth, as protections for the people of the diſtrict in which they ſtood, and placed in the poſition where they could moſt conveniently be ſeen? This ſuperſtitious ſentiment may alſo offer the true explanation of an incident which is ſaid to have been repreſented in the myſteries of Eleuſis. Ceres, wandering over the earth in ſearch of her daughter Proſerpine, and overcone with grief for her loſs, arrived at the hut of an Athenian peaſant woman named Baubo, who received her hoſpitably, and offered her to drink the refreſhing mixture which the Greeks call Cyceon (κυκεὼν). The goddeſs rejected the offered kindneſs, and refuſed

[1] Herodotus, Euterpe, cap. 102. Diodorus Siculus adds to the account given by Herodotus, that Seſoſtris also erected columns bearing the male generative organ as a compliment to the peoples who had defended themſelves bravely.

all conſolation. Baubo, in her diſtreſs, bethought her of another expedient to allay the grief of her gueſt. She relieved her ſexual organs of that outward ſign which is the evidence of puberty, and then preſented them to the view of Ceres, who, at the ſight, laughed, forgot her ſorrows, and drank the cyceon.[1] The prevailing belief in the beneficial influence of this ſight, rather than a mere pleaſantry, ſeems to afford the beſt explanation of this ſtory; and the ſame ſuperſtition is no doubt embodied in an old mediæval ſtory which we give in a note as it is told in that celebrated book of the ſixteenth century *Le Moyen de Parvenir*.[2]

This ſuperſtition which, as ſhown by the Shelah-na-Gigs of the Iriſh churches, prevailed largely in the middle ages, explains another claſs of antiquities which are not uncommon. Theſe are ſmall figures of nude females expoſing themſelves in exactly the ſame manner as in the ſculptures on the churches in Ireland juſt alluded to. Such figures are found not only among Roman, Greek, and Egyptian antiquities, but among every people who had any knowledge of art, from the aborigines of America to the far more civi-

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[1] This ſtory is told by the two Chriſtian Fathers, Arnobius, *Adverſus Gentes*, lib. v. c. 5, and Clemens Alexandrinus, *Protrepticus*, p. 17, ed. Oxon. 1715. The latter writer merely ſtates that Baubo expoſed her parts to the view of the goddeſs, without the incident of preparation mentioned by Arnobius.

[2] "*Hermès.* On nomme ainſi ceux qui n'ont point vu le con de leur femme ou de leur garce. Le pauvre valet de chez nous n'étoit donc pas *coquebin;* il eut beau le voir.—*Varro.* Quand?—*Hermès.* Attendez, étant en fiançailles, il vouloit prendre le cas de ſa fiancée; elle ne le vouloit pas; il faiſoit le malade, et elle lui demandoit; 'Qu'y a-t-il, mon ami?' 'Hélas, ma mie, je ſuis ſi malade, que je n'en puis plus; je mourrai ſi je ne vois ton cas.' 'Vraiment voire?' dit-elle. 'Hélas! oui, ſi je l'avois vu, je guérirois.' Elle ne lui voulut point montrer; à la fin, ils furent mariés. Il advint, trois ou quatre mois après, qu'il fut fort malade; et il envoya ſa femme au médecin pour porter de ſon eau. En allant, elle s'aviſa de ce qu'il lui avoit dit en fiançailles. Elle retourna vitement, et ſe vint mettre ſur le lit; puis, levant cotte et chemiſe, lui préſenta ſon cela en belle vue, et lui diſoit: 'Jean, regarde le con, et te guéris.'"—*Le Moyen de Parvenir*, c. xxviii.

lized natives of Japan; and it would be eaſy to give examples from almoſt every country we know, but we confine ourſelves to our more ſpecial part of the ſubject. In the laſt century, a number of ſmall ſtatuettes in metal, in a rude but very peculiar ſtyle of art, were found in the duchy of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, in a part of Germany formerly occupied by the Vandals, and by the tribe of the Obotrites, conſidered as a diviſion of the Vendes. They appeared to be intended to repreſent ſome of the deities worſhipped by the people who had made them; and ſome of them bore inſcriptions, one of which was in Runic characters. From this circumſtance we ſhould preſume that they belonged to a period not much, if any, older than the fall of the Weſtern Empire. Some time afterwards, a few ſtatuettes in metal were found in the iſland of Sardinia, ſo exactly ſimilar to thoſe juſt mentioned, that D'Hancarville, who publiſhed an account of them with engravings, conſidered himſelf juſtified in aſcribing them to the Vandals, who occupied that iſland, as well as the tract of Germany alluded to.[1] One of theſe images, which D'Hancarville conſiders to be the Venus of the Vandal mythology, repreſents a female in a reclining poſition, with the wings and claws of a bird, holding to view a pomegranate, open, which, as D'Hancarville remarks, was conſidered as a ſign repreſenting the female ſexual organ. In fact, it was a form and idea more unequivocally repreſented in the Roman figures which we have already deſcribed,[2] but which continued through the middle ages, and was preſerved in a popular name for that organ, *abricot*, or expreſſed more energetically, *abricot fendu*, uſed by Rabelais, and we believe ſtill preſerved in France. This curious image is repreſented, after D'Hancarville, in three different points of view in our

[1] D'Hancarville, *Antiquités Etruſques, Grecques, et Romaines*, Paris, 1785, tom. v. p. 61.

[2] See our Plates xxv, Fig. 4, xxvi, and Plate xxxvi, Fig. 3.

plate.[1] Several figures of a ſimilar deſcription, but repreſenting the ſubject in a more matter-of-fact ſhape, were brought from Egypt by a Frenchman who held an official ſituation in that country, and three of them are now in a private collection in London. We have engraved one of theſe ſmall bronzes,[2] which, as will be ſeen, preſents an exact counterpart of the Shelah-na-Gig. Theſe Egyptain images belonged no doubt to the Roman period. Another ſimilar figure,[3] made of lead, and apparently mediæval, was found at Avignon, and is preſerved in the ſame private collection juſt alluded to; and a third,[4] was dug up, about ten years ago, at Kingſton-on-Thames. The form of theſe ſtatuettes ſeems to ſhow that they were intended as portable images, for the ſame purpoſe as the Shelahs, which people might have ready at hand to look upon for protection whenever they were under fear of the influence of the evil eye, or of any other ſort of enchantment.

We have not as yet any clear evidence of the exiſtence of the Shelah-na-Gig in churches out of Ireland. We have been informed that an example has been found in one of the little churches on the coaſt of Devon; and there are curious ſculptures, which appear to be of the ſame character, among the architectural ornamentation of the very early church of San Fedele at Como in Italy. Three of theſe are engraved in our plate XXXII. On the top of the right hand jamb of the door[5] is a naked male figure, and in the ſame poſition on the other ſide a female,[6] which are deſcribed to us as repreſenting Adam and Eve, and our informant, to whom we owe the drawings, deſcribes that at the apex[7] merely as "the figure of a woman holding her legs apart." We underſtand that the ſurface of the ſtone in theſe ſculptures is ſo much

[1] Plate XXXI, Figs. 1, 2, 3.
[2] Plate XXXI, Fig. 4.
[3] Plate XXXI, Fig. 5.
[4] Plate XXXVI, Fig. 4.
[5] Plate XXXII, Fig. 1.
[6] Plate XXXII, Fig. 2.
[7] Plate XXXII, Fig. 3.

worn that it is quite uncertain whether the ſexual parts were ever diſtinctly marked, but from the poſtures and poſitions of the hands, and the ſituation in which theſe figures are placed, they ſeem to reſemble cloſely, except in their ſuperior ſtyle of art, the Shelah-na-Gigs of Ireland. There can be little doubt that the ſuperſtition to which theſe objects belonged gave riſe to much of the indecent ſculpture which is ſo often found upon mediæval eccleſiaſtical buildings. The late Baron von Hammer-Pürgſtall publiſhed a very learned paper upon monuments of various kinds which he conſidered as illuſtrating the ſecret hiſtory of the order of the Templars, from which we learn that there was in his time a ſeries of moſt extraordinary obſcene ſculptures in the church of Schoengraber in Auſtria, of which he intended to give engravings, but the drawings had not arrived in time for his book;[1] but he has engraved the capital of a column in the church of Egra, a town of Bohemia, of which we give a copy,[2] in which the two ſexes are diſplaying to view the members, which were believed to be ſo efficatious againſt the power of faſcination.

The figure of the female organ, as well as the male, appears to have been employed during the middle ages of Weſtern Europe far more generally than we might ſuppoſe, placed upon buildings as a taliſman againſt evil influences, and eſpecially againſt witchcraft and the evil eye, and it was uſed for this purpoſe in many other parts of the world. It was the univerſal practice among the Arabs of Northern Africa to ſtick up over the door of the houſe or tent, or put up nailed on a board in ſome other way, the generative organ of a cow, mare, or female camel, as a taliſman to avert the influence of the evil eye. It is evident that the figure of this member was far

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[1] See Von Hammer-Pürgſtall, *Fundgruben des Orients*, vol. vi, p. 26.

[2] Von Hammer-Pürgſtall, *Fundgruben des Orients*, vol. vi, p. 35, and Plate iv, Fig. 31.—See our Plate xxxi, Fig. 6.

more liable to degradation in form than that of the male, becauſe it was much leſs eaſy, in the hands of rude draughtſmen, to delineate in an intelligible form, and hence it ſoon aſſumed ſhapes which, though intended to repreſent it, we might rather call ſymbolical of it, though no ſymboliſm was intended. Thus the figure of the female organ eaſily aſſumed the rude form of a horſeſhoe, and as the original meaning was forgotten, would be readily taken for that object, and a real horſeſhoe nailed up for the ſame purpoſe. In this way originated, apparently, from the popular worſhip of the generative powers, the vulgar practice of nailing a horſeſhoe upon buildings to protect them and all they contain againſt the power of witchcraft, a practice which continues to exiſt among the peaſantry in ſome parts of England at the preſent day. Other marks are found, ſometimes among the architectural ornaments, ſuch as certain triangles and triple loops, which are perhaps typical forms of the ſame object. We have been informed that there is an old church in Ireland where the male organ is drawn on one ſide of the door, and the Shelah-na-Gig on the other, and that, though perhaps comparatively modern, their import as protective charms are well underſtood. We can eaſily imagine men, under the influence of theſe ſuperſtitions, when they were obliged to halt for a moment by the ſide of a building, drawing upon it ſuch a figure, with the deſign that it ſhould be a protection to themſelves, and thus probably we derive from ſuperſtitious feelings the common propenſity to draw phallic figures on the ſides of vacant walls and in other places.

Antiquity had made Priapus a god, the middle ages raiſed him into a ſaint, and that under ſeveral names. In the ſouth of France, Provence, Languedoc, and the Lyonnais, he was worſhipped under the title of St. Foutin.[1] This name is ſaid to be a mere corruption

[1] Our material for the account of theſe phallic ſaints is taken moſtly from the work of M. Dulaure.

of Fotinus or Photinus, the firſt biſhop of Lyons, to whom, perhaps through giving a vulgar interpretation to the name, people had transferred the diſtinguiſhing attribute of Priapus. This was a large phallus of wood, which was an object of reverence to the women, eſpecially to thoſe who were barren, who ſcraped the wooden member, and, having ſteeped the ſcrapings in water, they drank the latter as a remedy againſt their barrenneſs, or adminiſtered it to their huſbands in the belief that it would make them vigorous. The worſhip of this ſaint, as it was practiced in various places in France at the commencement of the ſeventeenth century, is deſcribed in that ſingular book, the *Confeſſion de Sancy*.[1] We there learn that at Varailles in Provence, waxen images of the members of both ſexes were offered to St. Foutin, and ſuſpended to the ceiling of his chapel, and the writer remarks that, as the ceiling was covered with them, when the wind blew them about, it produced an effect which was calculated to diſturb very much the devotions of the worſhippers.[2] We hardly need remark that this is juſt the ſame kind of worſhip which exiſted at Iſernia, in the kingdom of Naples, where it was preſented in the ſame ſhape. At Embrun, in the department of the Upper Alps, the phallus of St. Foutin was worſhipped in a different form; the women poured a libation of wine upon the head of the phallus, which was collected in a veſſel, in which it was left till it became ſour; it was then called the "ſainte vinaigre," and the women employed it for a purpoſe which is only obſcurely hinted at. When the Proteſtants took Embrun in 1585, they found this phallus laid up carefully

[1] La Confeſſion de Sancy forms the fifth volume of the *Journal d'Henri III*, by Pierre de L'Eſtoile, ed. Duchat. See pp. 383, 391, of that volume.

[2] "Témoin Saint Foutin de Varailles en Provence, auquel ſont dédiées les parties honteuſes de l'un et de l'autre ſexe, formées en cire : le plancher de la chapelle en eſt fort garni, et, quand le vent les fait entrebattre, cela débauche un peu les dévotions à l'honneur de ce Saint."

among the relics in the principal church, its head red with the wine which had been poured upon it. A much larger phallus of wood, covered with leather, was an object of worſhip in the church of St. Eutropius at Orange, but it was ſeized by the Proteſtants and burnt publicly in 1562. St. Foutin was ſimilarly an object of worſhip at Porigny, at Cives in the dioceſe of Viviers, at Vendre in the Bourbonnais, at Auxerre, at Puy-en-Velay, in the convent of Girouet near Sampigny, and in other places. At a diſtance of about four leagues from Clermont in Auvergne, there is (or was) an iſolated rock, which preſents the form of an immenſe phallus, and which is popularly called St. Foutin. Similar phallic ſaints were worſhipped under the names of St. Guerlichon, or Greluchon, at Bourg-Dieu in the dioceſe of Bourges, of St. Gilles in the Cotentin in Britany, of St. René in Anjou, of St. Regnaud in Burgundy, of St. Arnaud, and above all of St. Guignolé near Breſt and at the village of La Chatelette in Berri. Many of theſe were ſtill in exiſtence and their worſhip in full practice in the laſt century; in ſome of them, the wooden phallus is deſcribed as being much worn down by the continual proceſs of ſcraping, while in others the loſs ſuſtained by ſcraping was always reſtored by a miracle. This miracle, however, was a very clumſy one, for the phallus conſiſted of a long ſtaff of wood paſſed through a hole in the middle of the body, and as the phallic end in front became ſhortened, a blow of a mallet from behind thruſt it forward, ſo that it was reſtored to its original length.

It appears that it was alſo the practice to worſhip theſe ſaints in another manner, which alſo was derived from the forms of the worſhip of Priapus among the ancients, with whom it was the cuſtom, in the nuptial ceremonies, for the bride to offer up her virginity to Priapus, and this was done by placing her ſexual parts againſt the end of the phallus, and ſometimes introducing the latter, and even completing the ſacrifice. This ceremony is repreſented in

a bas-relief in marble, an engraving of which is given in the *Muſée Secret* of the antiquities of Herculaneum and Pompeii; its object was to conciliate the favour of the god, and to avert ſterility. It is deſcribed by the early Chriſtian writers, ſuch as Lactantius and Arnobius, as a very common practice among the Romans; and it ſtill prevails to a great extent over moſt part of the Eaſt, from India to Japan and the iſlands of the Pacific. In a public ſquare in Batavia, there is a cannon taken from the natives and placed there as a trophy by the Dutch government. It preſents the peculiarity that the touch-hole is made on a phallic hand, the thumb placed in the poſition which is called the "fig," and which we ſhall have to deſcribe a little further on. At night, the ſterile Malay women go to this cannon and ſit upon the thumb, and rub their parts with it to produce fruitfulneſs. When leaving, they make an offering of a bouquet of flowers to the "fig." It is always the ſame idea of reverence to the fertilizing powers of nature, of which the garland or the bunch of flowers was an appropriate emblem. There are traces of the exiſtence of this practice in the middle ages. In the caſe of ſome of the priapic ſaints mentioned above, women ſought a remedy for barrenneſs by kiſſing the end of the phallus; ſometimes they appear to have placed a part of their body naked againſt the image of the ſaint, or to have ſat upon it. This latter trait was perhaps too bold an adoption of the indecencies of pagan worſhip to laſt long, or to be practiced openly; but it appears to have been more innocently repreſented by lying upon the body of the ſaint, or ſitting upon a ſtone, underſtood to repreſent him without the preſence of the energetic member. In a corner in the church of the village of St. Fiacre, near Mouceaux in France, there is a ſtone called the chair of St. Fiacre, which confers fecundity upon women who ſit upon it; but it is neceſſary that nothing ſhould intervene between their bare ſkin and the ſtone. In the church of Orcival in Auvergne, there was a pillar which

barren women kiſſed for the ſame purpoſe, and which had perhaps replaced ſome leſs equivocal object.[1] Traditions, at leaſt, of ſimilar practices were connected with St. Foutin, for it appears to have been the cuſtom for girls on the point of marriage to offer their laſt maiden robe to that ſaint. This ſuperſtition prevailed to ſuch an extent that it became proverbial. A ſtory is told of a young bride who, on the wedding night, ſought to deceive her huſband on the queſtion of her previous chaſtity, although, as the writer expreſſes it, "ſhe had long ago depoſited the robe of her virginity on the altar of St. Foutin."[2] From this form of ſuperſtition is ſaid to have ariſen a vice which is underſtood to prevail eſpecially in nunneries—the uſe by women of artificial phalli, which appears in its origin to have been a religious ceremony. It certainly exiſted at a very remote period, for it is diſtinctly alluded to in the Scriptures,[3] where it is evidently conſidered as a part of pagan worſhip. It is found at an early period of the middle ages, deſcribed in the Eccleſiaſtical Penitentials, with its appropriate amount of penitence. One of theſe penitential canons of the eighth century ſpeaks of "a woman who, by herſelf or with the help of another woman, commits uncleanneſs," for which ſhe was to do penance for three years, one on bread and water; and if this uncleanneſs were committed with a nun, the penance was increaſed to ſeven years, two only on bread and water.[4]

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[1] Dulaure relates that one day a villager's wife entering this church, and finding only a burly canon in it, aſked him earnestly, "Where is the pillar which makes women fruitful?" "I," ſaid the canon, "I am the pillar."

[2] "Sponſa quædam ruſtica quæ jam in ſinu Divi Futini virginitatis ſuæ prætextam depoſuerat." *Facetiæ Facetiarum*, p. 277. *Theſes inaugurales de Virginibus.*

[3] Ezekiel, xvi, 17. Within a few years there has been a conſiderable manufacture of theſe objects in Paris, and it was underſtood that they were chiefly exported to Italy, where they were ſold in the nunneries.

[4] Mulier qualicumque molimine aut per ſeipſan aut cum altera fornicans tres

Another Penitential of an early date provides for the caſe in which both the women who participated in this act ſhould be nuns;[1] and Burchardus, biſhop of Worms, one of the moſt celebrated authorities on such ſubjects, deſcribes the inſtrument and uſe of it in greater detail.[2] The practice had evidently loſt its religious character and degenerated into a mere indulgence of the paſſions.

Antwerp has been deſcribed as the Lampſacus of Belgium, and Priapus was, down to a comparatively modern period, its patron ſaint, under the name of Ters, a word the derivation of which appears to be unknown, but which was identical in meaning with the Greek *phallus* and the Latin *faſcinum*. John Goropius Becan, who publiſhed a learned treatiſe on the antiquities of Antwerp in the middle of the ſixteenth century, informs us how much this Ters was reverenced in his time by the Antwerpians, eſpecially by the women, who invoked it on every occaſion when they were taken by ſurpriſe or ſudden fear.[3] He ſtates that "if they let fall by accident a veſſel of earthenware, or ſtumbled, or if any unexpected accident caufed them vexation, even the moſt reſpectable women called aloud

annos pœniteat, unum ex his pane et aqua. Cum ſanctimoniali per machinam fornicans, annos ſeptem pœniteat, duos ex his in pane et aqua. *Collectio Antiqu. Canon. Pœnit.* ap. Martene et Durand, *Theſaurus Anecdotorum*, iv, 52.

[1] Mulier qualicumque molimine aut ſeipſam polluens, aut cum altera fornicans quatuor annos. Sanctimonialis fœmina cum ſanctimoniali per machinamentum polluta, ſeptem annos. *MS. Pœnitent.* quoted in Ducange, ſub. v. *Machinamentum.*

[2] Feciſti quod quædam mulieres facere ſolent, ut faceres quoddam molimen aut machinamentum in modum virilis membri, ad menſuram tuæ voluntatis, et illud loco verendorum tuorum, aut alterius, cum aliquibus ligaturis colligares, et fornicationem faceres cum aliis mulierculis, vel aliæ eodem inſtrumento ſive alio tecum? Si feciſti, quinque annos per legitimas ferias pœniteas.——Feciſti quod quædam mulieres facere ſolent, ut jam ſupradicto molimine, vel alio aliquo machinamento, tu ipſa in te ſolam faceres fornicationem? Si feciſti, unum annum per legitimas ferias pœniteas. Burchardi *Pœnit.* lib. xix, p. 277, 8vo. ed. The holy biſhop appears to have been very intimately acquainted with the whole proceeding.

[3] Johannis Goropii Becani *Origines Antwerpianæ*, 1569, lib. i, pp. 26, 101.

for the protection of Priapus under this obſcene name." Goropius Becanus adds that there was in his time, over the door of a houſe adjoining the priſon, a ſtatue which had been furniſhed with a large phallus, then worn away or broken off. Among other writers who mention this ſtatue is Abraham Golnitz, who publiſhed an account of his travels in France and Belgium, in 1631,[1] and he informs us that it was a carving in ſtone, about a foot high, with its arms raiſed up, and its legs ſpread out, and that the phallus had been entirely worn out by the women, who had been in the habit of ſcraping it and making a potion of the duſt which they drank as a preſervative againſt barrenneſs. Golnitz further tells us that a figure of Priapus was placed over the entrance gate to the encloſure of the temple of St. Walburgis at Antwerp, which ſome antiquaries imagined to have been built on the ſite of a temple dedicated to that deity. It appears from theſe writers that, at certain times, the women of Antwerp decorated the phalli of theſe figures with garlands.

The uſe of priapic figures as amulets, to be carried on the perſon as preſervatives againſt the evil eye and other noxious influences, which we have ſpoken of as ſo common among the Romans, was certainly continued through the middle ages, and, as we ſhall ſee preſently, has not entirely diſappeared. It was natural enough to believe that if this figure were ſalutary when merely looked upon, it muſt be much more ſo when carried conſtantly on the perſon. The Romans gave the name *faſcinum*, in old French *feſne*, to the phallic amulet, as well as to the ſame figure under other circumſtances. It is an object of which we could hardly expect to find direct mention in mediæval writers, but we meet with examples of the object itſelf, uſually made of lead (a proof of its popular character), and ranging in date perhaps from the fourteenth to the earlier part of the

[1] Golnitzli *Itinerarium Belgico-Gallicum*, p. 52.

ſixteenth century. As we owe our knowledge of theſe phallic amulets almoſt entirely to one collector, M. Forgeais of Paris, who obtained them chiefly from one ſource—the river Seine, our preſent acquaintance with them may be conſidered as very limited, and we have every reaſon for believing that they had been in uſe during the earlier period. We can only illuſtrate this part of the ſubject by deſcribing a few of theſe mediæval phallic amulets, which are preſerved in ſome private collections; and we will firſt call attention to a ſeries of objects, the real purpoſe of which appears to be very obſcure. They are ſmall leaden tokens or medalets, bearing on the obverſe the figure of the male or female organ, and on the reverſe a croſs, a curious intimation of the adoption of the worſhip of the generative powers among Chriſtians. Theſe leaden tokens, found in the river Seine, were firſt collected and made known to antiquaries by M. Forgeais, who publiſhed examples of them in his work on the leaden figures found in that river.[1] We give five examples of the medals of each ſex, obverſe and reverſe.[2] It will be ſeen that the phalli on theſe tokens are nearly all furniſhed with wings; one has a bird's legs and claws; and on another there is an evident intention to repreſent a bell ſuſpended to the neck. Theſe characteriſtics ſhow either a very diſtinct tradition of the forms of the Roman phallic ornament, or an imitation of examples of Roman phalli then exiſting—poſſibly the latter. But this is not neceſſary, for the bells borne by two examples, given in our next plate, and alſo taken from the collection of M. Forgeais are mediæval, and not Roman bells, though theſe alſo repreſent well-known ancient forms of treating the ſubject. In the firſt,[3] a female is riding upon the phallus, which has men's legs,

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[1] Notice ſur des Plombs Hiſtoriés trouvés dans la Seine, et recueillis par Arthur Forgeais. 8vo. Paris, 1858.

[2] See our Plate xxxiii.

[3] Plate xxxiv, Fig. 1.

and is held by a bridle. This figure was evidently intended to be attached to the dreſs as a brooch, for the pin which fixed it ſtill remains on the back. Two other examples[1] preſent figures of winged phalli, one with a bell, and the other with the ring remaining from which the bell has no doubt been broken. One of theſe has the dog's legs. A fourth example[2] repreſents an enormous phallus attached to the middle of a ſmall man. In another,[3] which was evidently intended for ſuſpenſion, probably at the neck, the organs of the two ſexes are joined together. Three other leaden fiures,[4] apparently amulets, which were in the Forgeais collection, offer a very peculiar variety of form, repreſenting a figure, which we might ſuppoſe to be a male by its attributes, though it has a very feminine look, and wears the robe and hood of a woman. Its peculiarity conſiſts in having a phallus before and behind. We have on the ſame plate[5] a ſtill more remarkable example of the combination of the croſs with the emblems of the worſhip of which we are treating, in an object found at San Agata di Goti, near Naples, which was formerly in the Bereſford Fletcher collection, and is now in that of Ambroſe Ruſchenberger, Eſq., of Boſton, U. S. It is a *crux anſata*, formed by four phalli, with a circle of female organs round the centre; and appears by the loop to have been intended for ſuſpenſion. As this croſs is of gold, it had no doubt been made for ſome perſonage of rank, poſſibly an eccleſiaſtic; and we can hardly help ſuſpecting that it had ſome connection with priapic ceremonies or feſtivities. The laſt figure on the ſame plate is alſo taken from the collection of M. Forgeais.[6] From the monkiſh cowl and the cord round the body, we may perhaps take it for a ſatire upon the friars, ſome of whom wore no breeches, and they were all charged with being great corruptors of female morals.

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[1] Plate xxxiv, Figs. 2 and 3.
[2] Plate xxxiv, Fig. 4.
[3] Plate xxxiv, Fig. 5.
[4] Plate xxxv, Figs. 1, 2, and 3.
[5] Plate xxxv, Fig. 4.
[6] Plate xxxv, Fig. 5.

In Italy we can trace the continuous uſe of theſe phallic amulets down to the preſent time much more diſtinctly than in our more Weſtern countries. There they are ſtill in very common uſe, and we give two examples[1] of bronze amulets of this deſcription, which are commonly ſold in Naples at the preſent day for a carlo, equivalent to fourpence in Engliſh money, each. One of them, it will be ſeen, is encircled by a ſerpent. So important are theſe amulets conſidered for the perſonal ſafety of thoſe who poſſeſs them, that there is hardly a peaſant who is without one, which he uſually carries in his waiſtcoat pocket.

There was another, and leſs openly apparent, form of the phallus, which has laſted as an amulet during almoſt innumerable ages. The ancients had two forms of what antiquaries have named the phallic hand, one in which the middle finger was extended at length, and the thumb and other fingers doubled up, while in the other the whole hand was cloſed, but the thumb was paſſed between the firſt and middle fingers. The firſt of theſe forms appears to have been the more ancient, and is underſtood to have been intended to repreſent, by the extended middle finger, the *membrum virile*, and by the bent fingers on each ſide the teſticles. Hence the middle finger of the hand was called by the Romans, *digitus impudicus*, or *infamis*. It was called by the Greeks καταπύγων, which had ſomewhat the ſame meaning as the Latin word, except that it had reference eſpecially to degrading practices, which were then leſs concealed than in modern times. To ſhow the hand in this form was expreſſed in Greek by the word σκιμαλίζειν, and was conſidered as a moſt contemptuous inſult, becauſe it was underſtood to intimate that the perſon to whom it was addreſſed was addicted to unnatural vice. This was the meaning alſo given to it

[1] Plate XXXVI, Figs. 1 and 2.

by the Romans, as we learn from the firſt lines of an epigram of Martial:—

"Rideto multum, qui te, Sextille, cinædum
Dixerit, et *digitum* porrigito *medium*."
Martial, *Ep.* ii, 28.

Nevertheleſs, this geſture of the hand was looked upon at an early period as an amulet againſt magical influences, and, formed of different materials, it was carried on the perſon in the ſame manner as the phallus. It is not an uncommon object among Roman antiquities, and was adopted by the Gnoſtics as one of their ſymbolical images. The ſecond of theſe forms of the phallic hand, the intention of which is eaſily ſeen (the thumb forming the phallus), was alſo well known among the Romans, and is found made of various material, ſuch as bronze, coral, lapis lazuli, and chryſtal, of a ſize which was evidently intended to be ſuſpended to the neck or to ſome other part of the perſon. In the *Muſée Secret* at Naples, there are examples of ſuch amulets, in the ſhape of two arms joined at the elbow, one terminating in the head of a phallus, the other having a hand arranged in the form juſt deſcribed, which ſeem to have been intended for pendents to ladies' ears. This geſture of the hand appears to have been called at a later period of Latin, though we have no knowledge of the date at which this uſe of the word began, *ficus*, a fig. *Ficus* being a word in the feminine gender, appears to have fallen in the popular language into the more common form of feminine nouns, *fica*, out of which aroſe the Italian *fica* (now replaced by *fico*), the Spaniſh *higa*, and the French *figue*. Florio, who gives the word *fica*, a fig, ſays that it was alſo uſed in the ſenſe of "a woman's quaint," ſo that it may perhaps be claſſed with one or two other fruits, ſuch as the pomegranate and the apricot, to which a ſimilar erotic meaning was given.[1] The form, under

[1] See before, p. 136. Among the Romans, the fig was conſidered as a fruit conſecrated to Priapus, on account, it is ſaid, of its productiveneſs.

this name, was preſerved through the middle ages, eſpecially in the South of Europe, where Roman traditions were ſtrongeſt, both as an amulet and as an inſulting geſture. The Italian called this geſture *fare la fica*, to make or do the fig to any one; the Spaniard, *dar una higa*, to give a fig; and the Frenchman, like the Italian, *faire la figue*. We can trace this phraſe back to the thirteenth century at leaſt. In the judicial proceedings againſt the Templars in Paris in 1309, one of the brethren of the Order was aſked, jokingly, in his examination, becauſe he was rather looſe and flippant in his replies, "if he had been ordered by the ſaid receptor (the officer of the Templars who admitted the new candidate) to make with his fingers the fig at the cruciſix."[1] Here the word uſed is the correct Latin *ficus*; and it is the ſame in the plural, in a document of the year 1449, in which an individual is ſaid to have *made figs* with both hands at another.[2] This phraſe appears to have been introduced into the Engliſh language in the time of Elizabeth, and to have been taken from the Spaniards, with whom our relations were then intimate. This we aſſume from the circumſtance that the Engliſh phraſe was "to give the fig" (*dar la higa*),[3] and that the writers of the Elizabethan age call it "the fig of Spain." Thus, "ancient" Piſtol, in Shakeſpeare: —

—— "A figo for thy friendſhip! —
The fig of Spain." *Henry V*, iii. 6.

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[1] Item, cum prædictus teſtis videretur eſſe valde facilis et procax ad loquendum, et in pluribus dictis ſuis non eſſet ſtabilis, ſed quaſi varians et vacilans, fuit interrogatus ſi fuit ei præceptum a dicto receptore quod cum digitis manus ſuæ *faceret ficum* Crucifixo, quando ipſum videret, et ſi fuit ei dictum quod hoc eſſet de punctis ordinis, reſpondit quod nunquam audivit loqui de hoc. Michelet, *Procès des Templiers*, Tome i, p. 255, 4to. Paris, 1841.

[2] Ambabus manibus *fecit ficus* dicto Sermes. MS. quoted in Ducange, ſub v. *Ficha*.

[3] "Behold next I ſee contempt, *giving me the fico*." *Wit's Miſery*, quoted in Nares, v. *Fico*.

The phraſe has been preſerved in all theſe countries down to modern times and we ſtill ſay in Engliſh, "a fig for anybody," or "for anything," not meaning that we eſtimate them at no more than the value of a fig, but that we throw at them that contempt which was intimated by ſhowing them the phallic hand, and which the Greeks, as ſtated above, called σκιμαλίζειν. The form of ſhowing contempt which was called the fig is ſtill well known among the lower claſſes of ſociety in England, and it is preſerved in moſt of the countries of Weſtern Europe. In Baretti's Spaniſh Dictionary, which belongs to the commencement of the preſent century, we find the word *higa* interpreted as "A manner of ſcoffing at people, which conſiſts in ſhowing the thumb between the firſt and ſecond finger, cloſing the fiſt, and pointing at the perſon to whom we want to give this hateful mark of contempt." Baretti alſo gives as ſtill in uſe the original meaning of the word, "*Higa*, a little hand made of jet, which they hang about children to keep them from evil eyes; a ſuperſtitious cuſtom." The uſe of this amulet is ſtill common in Italy, and eſpecially in Naples and Sicily; it has an advantage over the mere form of the phallus, that when the artificial *fica* is not preſent, an individual, who finds or believes himſelf in ſudden danger, can make the amulet with his own fingers. So profound is the belief of its efficacy in Italy, that it is commonly believed and reported there that, at the battle of Solferino, the king of Italy held his hand in his pocket with this arrangement of the fingers as a protection againſt the ſhots of the enemy.

There were perſonages connected with the worſhip of Priapus who appear to have been common to the Romans under and before the empire, and to the foreign races who ſettled upon its ruins. The Teutonic race believed in a ſpiritual being who inhabited the woods, and who was called in old German *ſcrat*. His character was more general than that of a mere habitant of the woods, for it anſwered to the Engliſh hobgoblin, or to the Iriſh

cluricaune. The ſcrat was the ſpirit of the woods, under which character he was ſometimes called a *waltſcrat*, and of the fields, and alſo of the houſehold, the domeſtic ſpirit, the ghoſt haunting the houſe. His image was probably looked upon as an amulet, a protection to the houſe, as an old German vocabulary of the year 1482, explains *ſchrætlin*, little ſcrats, by the Latin word *penates*. The laſcivious character of this ſpirit, if it wanted more direct evidence, is implied by the fact that *ſcritta*, in Anglo-Saxon, and *ſcrat*, in old Engliſh, meant a hermaphrodite. Accordingly, the mediæval vocabularies explain *ſcrat* by Latin equivalents, which all indicate companions or emanations of Priapus, and in fact, Priapus himſelf. Iſidore gives the name of *Piloſi*, or hairy men, and tells us that they were called in Greek, Panitæ (apparently an error for Ephialtæ), and in Latin, Incubi and Inibi, the latter word derived from the verb *inire*, and applied to them on account of their intercourſe with animals.[1] They were in fact the fauns and ſatyrs of antiquity, haunted like them the wild woods, and were characterized by the ſame petulance towards the other ſex.[2] Woe to the modeſty of maiden or woman who ventured incautiouſly into their haunts. As Incubi, they viſited the houſe by night, and violated the perſons of the females, and ſome of the moſt celebrated heroes of early mediæval romances, ſuch as Merlin, were thus the children of incubi. They were known at an early period in Gaul by the name of Duſii,[3] from which, as the church taught that all theſe

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[1] Piloſi, qui Græce Panitæ, Latine Incubi, appellantur, ſive Inivi, ab ineundo paſſim cum animalibus; unde et Incubi dicuntur ab incumbendo, hoc eſt, ſtuprando. Iſidori *Etymol.*, lib. viii, c. 9.

[2] Sæpe etiam improbi exiſtunt, etiam mulieribus, et earum peragunt concubitum. Iſidor. *ib.*

[3] Et quoſdam dæmones quos Duſios Galli nuncupant, hanc aſſidue immunditiam experiri tentare et efficere plures talesque aſſeverant, ut hoc negare impudentiæ videatur. Auguſtin. *De Civitate Dei*, lib. xv, c. 23. Conf. Iſidor., loc. cit.

mythic perſonages were devils, we derive our modern word *Deuce*, uſed in ſuch phraſes as "the Deuce take you!" The term *ficarii* was alſo applied to them in mediæval Latin, either from the meaning of the word *ficus*, mentioned before,[1] or becauſe they were fond of figs. Moſt of theſe Latin ſynonyms are given in the Anglo-Saxon vocabulary of Alfric, and are interpreted as meaning "evil men, ſpirits of the woods, evil beings."[2] One of the old commentators on the Scriptures deſcribes theſe ſpirits of the woods as "monſters in the ſemblance of men, whoſe form begins with the human ſhape and ends in the extremity of a beaſt."[3] They were, in fact, half man, half goat, and were identical with a claſs of hobgoblins, who at a rather later period were well known in England by the popular name of Robin Goodfellows, whoſe Priapic character is ſufficiently proved by the pictures of them attached to ſome of our early printed ballads, of which we give facſimiles. The firſt[4] is a figure of Robin Goodfellow, which forms the illuſtration to a very popular ballad of the earlier part of the ſeventeenth century, entitled "The mad merry Pranks of Robin Goodfellow;" he is repreſented party-coloured, and with the priapic attribute. The next[5] is a ſecond illuſtration of the ſame ballad, in which Robin Goodfellow is repreſented as Priapus, goat-ſhaped, with his attributes ſtill more ſtrongly pronounced, and ſurrounded by a circle of his worſhippers dancing about him. He appears here in the character

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[1] See before, p. 149.

[2] *Satiri, vel ſauni, vel ſehni* (for *obſcæni*), *vel ſauni ficarii*, unfæle men, wudewaſan, unfæle wihta. Wright's *Volume of Vocabularies*, p. 17. See, for further illuſtration of this ſubject, Grimm's *Deutſche Mythologie*, p. 272 et ſeq.

[3] Piloſi, monſtra ſunt ad ſimilitudinem hominum, quorum forma ab humana effigie incipit, ſed beſtiali extremitate terminatur, vel ſunt dæmones incubones, vel ſatyri, vel homines ſilveſtres. Mamotrectus in Iſaiam, xiii. 21.

[4] See Plate xxxvi, Fig. 5. From a copy of the black-letter ballad in the library of the Britiſh Muſeum.

[5] Plate xxxvii, Fig. 2. From the ſame ballad.

aſſumed by the demon at the ſabbath of the witches, of which we ſhall have to ſpeak a little further on. The Romiſh Church created great confuſion in all theſe popular ſuperſtitions by conſidering the mythic perſons with whom they were connected as ſo many devils; and one of theſe Priapic demons is figured in a cut which ſeems to have been a favourite one, and is often repeated as an illuſtration of the broadſide ballads of the age of James I. and Charles I.[1] It is Priapus reduced to his loweſt ſtep of degradation.

Beſides the invocations addreſſed individually to Priapus, or to the generative powers, the ancients had eſtabliſhed great feſtivals in their honour, which were remarkable for their licentious gaiety, and in which the image of the phallus was carried openly and in triumph. Theſe feſtivities were eſpecially celebrated among the rural population, and they were held chiefly during the ſummer months. The preparatory labours of the agriculturiſt were over, and people had leiſure to welcome with joyfulneſs the activity of nature's reproductive powers, which was in due time to bring their fruits. Among the moſt celebrated of theſe feſtivals were the Liberalia, which were held on the 17th of March. A monſtrous phallus was carried in proceſſion in a car, and its worſhippers indulged loudly and openly in obſcene ſongs, converſation, and attitudes, and when it halted, the moſt reſpectable of the matrons ceremoniously crowned the head of the phallus with a garland. The Bacchanalia, repreſenting the Dionyſia of the Greeks, were celebrated in the latter part of October, when the harveſt was completed, and were attended with much the ſame ceremonies as the Liberalia. The phallus was ſimilarly carried in proceſſion, and crowned, and, as in the Liberalia, the feſtivities being carried on into the night, as the celebrators became heated with wine, they degenerated into the extreme of licentiouſneſs, in which people

[1] Plate xxxvii, Fig. 1. From two black-letter ballads in the Britiſh Muſeum, one entitled, "A warning for all Lewd Livers," the other, "A ſtrange and true News from Weſtmoreland."

indulged without a bluſh in the moſt imfamous vices. The feſtival of Venus was celebrated towards the beginning of April, and in it the phallus was again carried in its car, and led in proceſſion by the Roman ladies to the temple of Venus outſide the Colline gate, and there preſented by them to the ſexual parts of the goddeſs. This part of the ſcene is repreſented in a well-known intaglio, which has been publiſhed in ſeveral works on antiquities. At the cloſe of the month laſt mentioned came the Floralia, which, if poſſible, excelled all the others in licence. Auſonius, in whoſe time (the latter half of the fourth century) the Floralia were ſtill in full force, ſpeaks of their laſciviouſneſs—

> Nec non laſcivi Floralia læta theatri,
> Quæ ſpectare volunt qui voluiſſe negant.
>
> Auſonii *Eclog. de Feriis Romanis.*

The looſe women of the town and its neighbourhood, called together by the ſounding of horns, mixed with the multitude in perfect nakedneſs, and excited their paſſions with obſcene motions and language, until the feſtival ended in a ſcene of mad revelry, in which all reſtraint was laid aſide. Juvenal deſcribes a Roman dame of very depraved manners as—

> . . . . Digniſſima prorſus
> Florali matrona tuba.
>
> Juvenalis *Sat.* vi, l. 249.

Theſe ſcenes of unbounded licence and depravity, deeply rooted in people's minds by long eſtabliſhed cuſtoms, cauſed ſo little public ſcandal, that it is related of Cato the younger that, when he was preſent at the celebration of the Floralia, inſtead of ſhowing any diſapproval of them, he retired, that his well-known gravity might be no reſtraint upon them, becauſe the multitude manifeſted ſome heſitation in ſtripping the women naked in the preſence of a man ſo celebrated for his modeſty.[1] The feſtivals more ſpecially dedi-

[1] Catonem, inquam, illum, quo ſedente populus negatur permiſiſſe ſibi poſtulare Florales jocos nudandarum meretricum. Senecæ *Epiſt.* xcvii.

cated to Priapus, the Priapeia, were attended with ſimilar ceremonies and ſimilarly licentious orgies. Their forms and characteriſtics are better known, becauſe they are ſo frequently repreſented to us as the ſubjects of works of Roman art. The Romans had other feſtivals of ſimilar character, but of leſs importance, ſome of which were of a more private character, and ſome were celebrated in ſtrict privacy. Such were the rites of the Bona Dea, eſtabliſhed among the Roman matrons in the time of the republic, the diſorders of which are deſcribed in ſuch glowing language by the ſatiriſt Juvenal, in his enumeration of the vices of the Roman women :—

Nota Bonæ ſecreta Deæ, quum tibia lumbos
Incitat, et cornu pariter vinoque feruntur
Attonitæ, crinemque rotant, ululantque Priapi
Mænades. O quantus tunc illis mentibus ardor
Concubitus! quæ vox ſaltante libidine! quantus
Ille meri veteris per crura madentia torrens!
Lenonum ancillas poſita Saufeia corona
Provocat, et tollit pendentis præmia coxæ.
Ipſa Medullinæ fluctum criſſantis adorat.
Palmam inter dominas virtus natalibus æquat.
Nil ibi per ludum ſimulabitur : omnia fient
Ad verum, quibus incendi jam frigidus ævo
Laomedontiades et Neſtoris hernia poſſit.
Tunc prurigo moræ impatiens, tunc femina ſimplex,
Et toto pariter repetitus clamor ab antro :
Jam fas eſt : admitte viros !

Juvenalis *Sat.* vi, l. 314.

Among the Teutonic, as well as among moſt other peoples, ſimilar feſtivals appear to have been celebrated during the ſummer months ; and, as they aroſe out of the ſame feelings, they no doubt preſented the ſame general forms. The principal popular feſtivals of the ſummer during the middle ages occurred in the months of April, May, and June, and compriſed Eaſter, May-day, and the feaſt of the ſummer ſolſtice. All theſe appear to have been

originally accompanied with the ſame phallic worſhip which formed the principal characteriſtic of the great Roman feſtivals; and, in fact, theſe are exactly thoſe popular inſtitutions and traits of popular manners which were moſt likely to outlive, alſo without any material change, the overthrow of the Roman empire by the barbarians. Although, at the time when we become intimately acquainted with theſe feſtivals, moſt of the prominent marks of their phallic character had been abandoned and forgotten, yet we meet during the interval with ſcattered indications which leave no room to doubt of their former exiſtence. It will be intereſting to examine into ſome of theſe points, and to ſhow the influence they exerted on medieval ſociety.

The firſt of the three great feſtivals juſt mentioned was purely Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic; but it appears in the firſt place to have been identified with the Roman Liberalia, and it was further tranſformed by the Catholic church into one of the great Chriſtian religious feaſts. In the primitive Teutonic mythology there was a female deity named, in Old German, *Oſtara*, and, in Anglo-Saxon, *Eaſtre*, or *Eoſtre*, but all we know of her is the ſimple ſtatement of our father of hiſtory, Bede, that her feſtival was celebrated by the ancient Saxons in the month of April, from which circumſtance, that month was named by the Anglo-Saxons *Eaſter-monath*, or *Eoſter-monath*, and that the name of the goddeſs had been ſubſequently given to the Paſchal time, with which it was identical.[1] The name of this goddeſs was given to the ſame month by the old Germans and by the Franks, ſo that ſhe muſt have been one of the moſt highly honoured of the Teutonic deities, and her feſtval muſt

[1] Antiqui autem Anglorum populi . . . Eoſturmonath, qui nunc paſchalis menſis interpretatur, quondam a dea illorum quæ Eoſtre vocabatur, et cui in illo feſta celebrabant, nomen habuit; a cujus nomine nunc paſchale tempus cognominant, conſueto antiquæ obſervationis vocabulo gaudia novæ ſolennitatis vocantes. Bedæ *De Temporum Ratione*, cap. xv.

have been a very important one, and deeply implanted in the popular feelings, or the church would not have ſought to identify it with one of the greateſt Chriſtian feſtivals of the year. It is underſtood that the Romans conſidered this month as dedicated to Venus, no doubt becauſe it was that in which the productive power of nature began to be viſibly developed. When the Pagan feſtival was adopted by the church, it became a moveable feaſt inſtead of being fixed to the month of April. Among other objects offered to the goddeſs at this time were cakes, made no doubt of fine flour, but of their form we are ignorant. The Chriſtians, when they ſeized upon the Eaſter feſtival, gave them the form of a bun, which, indeed, was at that time the ordinary form of bread; and to protect themſelves, and thoſe who eat them, from any enchantment, or other evil influences which might ariſe from their former heathen character, they marked them with the Chriſtian ſymbol—the croſs. Hence were derived the cakes we ſtill eat at Eaſter under the name of hot-croſs-buns, and the ſuperſtitious feelings attached to them, for multitudes of people ſtill believe that if they failed to eat a hot-croſs-bun on Good-Friday they would be unlucky all the reſt of the year. But there is ſome reaſon for believing that, at leaſt in ſome parts, the Eaſter-cakes had originally a different form— that of the phallus. Such at leaſt appears to have been the caſe in France, where the cuſtom ſtill exiſts. In Saintonge, in the neighbourhood of La Rochelle, ſmall cakes, baked in the form of a phallus, are made as offerings at Eaſter, and are carried and preſented from houſe to houſe; and we have been informed that ſimilar practices exiſt in ſome other places. When Dulaure wrote, the feſtival of Palm Sunday, in the town of Saintes, was called the *fête des pinnes*, *pinne* being a popular and rather vulgar word for the *membrum virile*. At this *fête* the women and children carried in the proceſſion, at the end of their palm branches, a phallus made of bread, which they called undiſguiſedly a *pinne*, and which, having

been bleſt by the prieſt, the women carefully preſerved during the following year as an amulet. A ſimilar practice exiſted at St. Jean-d'Angély, where ſmall cakes, made in the form of the phallus, and named *fateux*, were carried in the proceſſion of the Fête-Dieu, or Corpus Chriſti.[1] Shortly before the time when Dulaure wrote, this practice was ſuppreſſed by a new ſous-préfet, M. Maillard. The cuſtom of making cakes in the form of the ſexual members, male and female, dates from a remote antiquity and was common among the Romans. Martial made a phallus of bread (*Priapus ſiligineus*) the ſubject of an epigram of two lines :—

Si vis eſſe ſatur, noſtrum potes eſſe priapum :
Ipſe licet rodas inguina, purus eris.

Martial, lib. xiv, ep. 69.

The ſame writer ſpeaks of the image of a female organ made of the ſame material in another of his epigrams, to explain which, it is only neceſſary to ſtate that theſe images were compoſed of the fineſt wheaten flour (*ſiligo*) :—

Pauper amicitiæ cum ſis, Lupe, non es amicæ ;
Et queritur de te mentula ſola nihil.
Illa ſiligineis pingueſcit adultera cunnis ;
Convivam paſcit nigra farina tuum.

Martial, lib. ix, ep. 3.

This cuſtom appears to have been preſerved from the Romans through the middle ages, and may be traced diſtinctly as far back as the fourteenth or fifteenth century. We are informed that in ſome of the earlier inedited French books on cookery, receipts are given for making cakes in theſe obſcene forms, which are named without any concealment ; and the writer on this ſubject, who wrote in the ſixteenth century, Johannes Bruerinus Campegius, deſcribing the different forms in which cakes were then made, enumerates thoſe

[1] Dulaure, *Hiſtoire Abrégée des Différent Cultes*, vol. ii, p. 285. Second Edition. It was priuted in 1825.

of the ſecret members of both ſexes, a proof, he ſays of "the degeneracy of manners, when Chriſtians themſelves can delight in obſcenities and immodeſt things even among their articles of food." He adds that ſome of theſe were commonly ſpoken of by a groſs name, *des cons ſucrés*.[1] When Dulaure wrote, that is juſt forty years ago, cakes of theſe forms continued to be made in various parts of France, and he informs us that thoſe repreſenting the male organ were made in the Lower Limouſin, and eſpecially at Brives, while ſimilar images of the female organ were made at Clermont in Auvergne, and in other places. They were popularly called *miches*.[2]

There is another cuſtom attached to Eaſter, which has probably ſome relation to the worſhip of which we are treating, and which ſeems once to have prevailed throughout England, though we believe it is now confined to Shropſhire and Cheſhire. In the former county it is called *heaving*, in the latter *lifting*. On Eaſter Monday the men go about with chairs, ſeize the women they meet, and, placing them in the chairs, raise them up, turn them round two or three times, and then claim the right of kiſſing them. On Eaſter Tueſday, the ſame thing is done by the women to the men. This, of courſe, is only practiſed now among the lower claſſes, except ſometimes as a frolic among intimate friends. The chair appears to have been a comparatively modern addition, ſince ſuch articles have become more abundant. In the laſt century four or five of the one ſex took the victim of the other ſex by the arms and legs, and lifted her or him in that manner, and the operation was

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[1] Alias fingunt oblonga figura, alias ſphærica, et orbiculari, alias triangula, quadrangulaque; quædam ventricoſæ ſunt; quædam pudenda muliebria, aliæ virilia (ſi diis placet) repræſentant; adeo degeneravere bonos mores, ut etiam Chriſtianis obſcœna et pudenda in cibis placeant. Sunt etenim quos *cunnos ſaccharatos* appelitent. Jo. Bruerini Campegii *De Re Cibaria*, lib. vi, c. 7.—Conf. Le Grande d'Auſſi, *Hiſtoire de la Vie Privée des Français*, vol. ii, p. 309.

[2] Dulaure, vol. ii, pp. 255—257.

attended, at all events on the part of the men, with much indecency. The women uſually expect a ſmall contribution of money from the men they have lifted. More anciently, in the time of Durandus, that is, in the thirteenth century, a ſtill more ſingular cuſtom prevailed on theſe two days. He tells us that in many countries, on the Eaſter Monday, it was the rule for the wives to beat their huſbands, and that on the Tueſday the huſbands beat their wives.[1] Brand, in his *Popular Antiquities*, tells us that in the city of Durham, in his time, it was the cuſtom for the men, on the one day, to take off the women's ſhoes, which the latter were obliged to purchaſe back, and that on the other day the women did the ſame to the men.

In mediæval poetry and romance, the month of May was celebrated above all others as that conſecrated to Love, which ſeemed to pervade all nature, and to invite mankind to partake in the general enjoyment. Hence, among nearly all peoples, its approach was celebrated with feſtivities, in which, under various forms, worſhip was paid to Nature's reproductiveneſs. The Romans welcomed the approach of May with their Floralia, a feſtival we have already deſcribed as remarkable for licentiouſneſs; and there cannot be a doubt that our Teutonic forefathers had also their feſtival of the ſeaſon long before they became acquainted with the Romans. Yet much of the mediæval celebration of May-day, eſpecially in the South, appears to have been derived from the Floralia of the latter people. As in the Floralia, the arrival of the feſtival was announced by the ſounding of horns during the preceding night, and no ſooner had midnight arrived than the youth of both ſexes proceeded in couples to the woods to gather branches and make garlands, with which they were to return juſt at ſunriſe for the purpoſe of decora-

[1] In pleriſque etiam regionibus mulieres ſecunda die poſt Paſcham verberant maritos ſuos, die vero tertia uxores ſuas. Durandus, *Rationale*, lib. vi, c. 86—89. By *ſecunda die poſt Paſcham*, he no doubt means Eaſter Monday.

ting the doors of their houſes. In England the grand feature of the day was the Maypole. This maypole was the ſtem of a tall young tree cut down for the occaſion, painted of various colours, and carried in joyous proceſſion, with minſtrels playing before, until it reached the village green, or the open ſpace in the middle of a town, where it was uſually ſet up. It was there decked with garlands and flowers, the lads and girls danced round it, and people indulged in all ſorts of riotous enjoyments. All this is well deſcribed by a Puritan writer of the reign of Queen Elizabeth — Philip Stubbes — who ſays that, "againſt Maie," "every pariſhe, towne, and village aſſemble themſelves together, bothe men, women, and children, olde and yong, even all indifferently; and either goyng all together, or devidyng themſelves into companies, they goe ſome to the woodes and groves, ſome to the hilles and mountaines, ſome to one place, ſome to another, where they ſpende all the night in pleaſant paſtymes, and in the mornyng thei returne, bryngyng with them birch bowes and braunches of trees to deck their aſſemblies withall, ... But their cheefeſt jewell thei bryng from thence is their Maie pole, whiche thei bryng home with greate veneration, as thus: Thei have twentie or fourtie yoke of oxen, every oxe havyng a ſweete noſegaie of flowers placed on the tippe of his hornes, and theſe oxen drawe home this Maie poole (this ſtinckyng idoll rather), whiche is covered all over with flowers and hearbes, bounde rounde aboute with ſtrynges, from the top to the bottome, and ſometyme painted with variable colours, with twoo or three hundred men, women, and children followyng it, with greate devotion. And thus beyng reared up, with handekerchiefes and flagges ſtreamyng on the toppe, thei ſtrawe the grounde aboute, binde greene boughes about it, ſett up ſommer haules, bowers, and arbours hard by it. And then fall thei to banquet and feaſt, to leape and daunce aboute it, as the heathen people did, at the dedication of

their idolles, whereof this is a perfect patterne, or rather the thyng itſelf."[1]

The Puritans were deeply impreſſed with the belief that the maypole was a ſubſtantial relic of Paganiſm; and they were no doubt right. There appears to be reaſon ſufficient for ſuppoſing that, at a period which cannot now be aſcertained, the maypole had taken the place of the phallus. The ceremonies attending the elevation of the two objects were identical. The ſame joyous proceſſion in the Roman feſtivals, deſcribed above, conducted the phallus into the midſt of the town or village, where in the ſame manner it was decked with garlands, and the worſhip partook of the ſame character. We may add, too, that both feſtivals were attended with the ſame licentiouſneſs. "I have heard it credibly reported," ſays the Puritan Stubbes, "and that *viva voce* by menne of greate gravitie and reputation, that of fourtie, three ſcore, or a hundred maides goyng to the woode over night, there have ſcarcely the third part returned home again undefiled."

The day generally concluded with bonfires. Theſe repreſented the need-fire, which was intimately connected with the ancient priapic rites. Fire itſelf was an object of worſhip, as the moſt powerful of the elements; but it was ſuppoſed to loſe its purity and ſacred character in being propagated from one material to another, and the worſhippers ſought on theſe ſolemn occaſions to produce it in its primitive and pureſt form. This was done by the rapid friction of two pieces of wood, attended with ſuperſtitious ceremonies; the pure element of fire was believed to exiſt in the wood, and to be thus forced out of it, and hence it was called need-fire (in Old German *not-feuer*, and in Anglo-Saxon, *neod-fyr*), meaning literally a forced fire, or fire extracted by force. Before the proceſs of thus

[1] Stubbes, *Anatomie of Abuſes*, fol. 94, 8vo. London, 1583.

extracting the fire from the wood, it was neceſſary that all the fires previouſly exiſting in the village ſhould be extinguiſhed, and they were afterwards revived from the bonfire which had been lit from the need-fire. The whole ſyſtem of bonfires originated from this ſuperſtition; they had been adopted generally on occaſions of popular rejoicing, and the bonfires commemorating the celebrated gunpowder plot are only particular applications of the general practice to an accidental caſe. The ſuperſtition of the need-fire belongs to a very remote antiquity in the Teutonic race, and exiſted equally in ancient Greece. It is proſcribed in the early capitularies of the Frankiſh emperors of the Carlovingian dynaſty.[1] The univerſality of this ſuperſtition is proved by the circumſtance that it ſtill exiſts in the Highlands of Scotland, eſpecially in Caithneſs, where it is adopted as a protection for the cattle when attacked by diſeaſe which the Highlanders attribute to witchcraft.[2] It was from the remoteſt ages the cuſtom to cauſe cattle, and even children, to paſs acroſs the need-fire, as a protection to them for the reſt of their lives. The need-fire was kindled at Eaſter, on May-day, and eſpecially at the ſummer ſolſtice, on the eve of the feaſt of St. John the Baptiſt, or of Midſummer-day.[3]

The eve of St. John was in popular ſuperſtition one of the moſt important days of the mediæval year. The need-fire—or the St. John's fire, as it was called—was kindled juſt at midnight, the moment when the ſolſtice was ſupposed to take place, and the young people of both ſexes danced round it, and, above all things,

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[1] Sive illos ſacrilegos ignes quos *nedfratres* (l. *nedfyres*) vocant, ſive omnes quæcumque ſunt paganorum obſervationes diligenter prohibeant. Karlomanni *Capitulare Primum*, A. D. 742, in Baluzii *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, col. 148. Repeated in the *Capitularium Caroli Magni et Ludovici Pii*, compiled A. D. 827. See Baluz., *ib.*, col. 825.

[2] Logan, *The Scottiſh Gael*, vol. ii, p. 64, and Jamieſon's *Scottiſh Dictionary*, Suppl. ſub. v. *Neidfyre*.

[3] See Grimm, *Deutſche Mythologie*, pp. 341 — 349.

leaped over it, or ruſhed through it, which was looked upon not only as a purification, but as a protection againſt evil influences. It was the night when ghoſts and other beings of the ſpiritual world were abroad, and when witches had moſt power. It was believed, even, that during this night people's ſouls left the body in ſleep, and wandered over the world, ſeparated from it. It was a night of the great meetings of the witches, and it was that in which they mixed their moſt deadly poiſons, and performed their moſt effective charms. It was a night eſpecially favourable to divination in every form, and in which maidens ſought to know their future ſweethearts and huſbands. It was during this night, alſo, that plants poſſeſſed their greateſt powers either for good or for evil, and that they were dug up with all due ceremonies and cautions. The more hidden virtues of plants, indeed, depended much on the time at which, and the ceremonies with which, they were gathered, and theſe latter were extremely ſuperſtitious, no doubt derived from the remote ages of paganiſm. As uſual, the clergy applied a half-remedy to the evil; they forebade any rites or incantations in the gathering of medicinal herbs except by repeating the creed and the Lord's prayer.[1]

As already ſtated, the night of St. John's, or Midſummer-eve, was that when ghoſts and ſpirits of all deſcriptions were abroad, and when witches aſſembled, and their potions, for good or for evil, and charms were made with moſt effect. It was the night for popular divination, eſpecially among the young maidens, who ſought to know who were deſtined to be their huſbands, what would be their characters, and what their future conduct. The medicinal virtues of many plants gathered on St. John's eve, and with the due ceremonies, were far more powerful than if gathered

[1] Non licet in collectione herbarum medicinalium aliquas obſervationes vel incantationes attendere, niſi tantum cum ſymbolo divino et oratione dominica, ut Deus et Dominus noſter honoretur. Burchardi *Decretorum Libri*, x, 20.

at other times. The moſt ſecret practices of the old popular ſuperſtitions are now moſtly forgotten, but when, here and there, we meet with a few traces of them, they are of a character which leads us to believe that they belonged to a great extent to that ſame worſhip of the generative powers which prevailed ſo generally among all peoples. We remember that, we believe in one of the earlier editions of Mother Bunch, maidens who wiſhed to know if their lovers were conſtant or not were directed to go out exactly at midnight on St. John's eve, to ſtrip themſelves entirely naked, and in that condition to proceed to a plant or ſhrub, the name of which was given, and round it they were to form a circle and dance, repeating at the ſame time certain words which they had been taught by their inſtructreſs. Having completed this ceremony, they were to gather leaves of the plant round which they had danced, which they were to carry home and place under their pillows, and what they wiſhed to know would be revealed to them in their dreams. We have ſeen in ſome of the mediæval treatiſes on the virtue of plants directions for gathering ſome plants of eſpecial importance, in which it was required that this ſhould be performed by young girls in a ſimilar ſtate of complete nakedneſs.

Plants and flowers were, indeed, intimately connected with this worſhip. We have ſeen how conſtantly they are introduced in the form of garlands, and they were always among the offerings to Priapus. It was the univerſal practice, in dancing round the fire on St. John's eve, to conclude by throwing various kinds of flowers and plants into it, which were conſidered to be propitiatory, to avert certain evils to which people were liable during the following year. Among the plants they offered are mentioned mother-wort, vervain, and violets. It is perhaps to this connection of plants with the old priapic worſhip that we owe the popular tendency to give them names which were more or leſs obſcene, moſt of which are now loſt, or are ſo far modified as to preſent no longer the ſame idea. Thus

the well-known arum of our hedge-bottoms received the names, no doubt ſuggeſted by its form, of cuckoo's pintle, or prieſt's pintle, or dog's pintle; and, in French, thoſe of *vit de chien* and *vit de preſtre*; in Engliſh it is now abbreviated into cuckoo-pint, or, ſometimes, cuckoo-point. The whole family of the orchides was diſtinguiſhed by a correſponding word, accompanied with various qualifications. We have in William Coles's *Adam in Eden*, (fol. 1659) the different names, for different varieties, of doggs-ſtones, fool-ſtones, fox-ſtones; in the older *Herbal* of Gerard (fol. 1597) triple ballockes, ſweet ballockes, ſweet cods, goat's-ſtones, hare's-ſtones, &c; in French, *couillon de bouc* (the goat was eſpecially connected with the priapic myſteries) and *couille*, or *couillon, de chien*. In French, too, as we learn from Cotgrave and the herbals, "a kind of ſallet hearbe" was called *couille à l'évêque*; the greater ſtone-crop was named *couille au loup*; and the ſpindle-tree was known by the name of *couillon de prêtre*. There are ſeveral plants which poſſeſs ſomewhat the appearance of a rough buſh of hair. One of theſe, a ſpecies of *adiantum*, was known even in Roman times by the name of *Capillus Veneris*, and in more modern times it has been called maiden-hair, and our lady's hair. Another plant, the *aſplenium trichomanes*, was and is alſo called popularly maiden-hair, or maiden's-hair; and we believe that the ſame name has been given to one or two other plants. There is reaſon for believing that the hair implied in theſe names was that of the pubes.[1] We might collect a number of other old popular names of plants of a ſimilar character with theſe juſt enumerated.

In an old calendar of the Romiſh church, which is often quoted

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[1] Fumitory was another of theſe plants, and in a vocabulary of plants in a MS. of the middle of the thirteenth century, we find its names in Latin, French, and Engliſh given as follows, "*Fumus terræ, fumeterre, cuntehoare.*" See Wright's *Volume of Vocabularies*, p. 17.

in Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, the ſeeking of plants for their hidden virtues and magical properties is eſpecially noted as part of the practices on the eve of St. John (*herbæ diverſi generis quæruntur*); and one plant is eſpecially ſpecified in terms too myſterious to be eaſily underſtood.[1] Fern-ſeed, alſo, was a great object of ſearch on this night; for, if found and properly gathered, it was believed to poſſeſs powerful magical properties, and eſpecially that of rendering inviſible the individual who carried it upon his perſon. But the moſt remarkable of all the plants connected with theſe ancient priapic ſuperſtitions was the mandrake (*mandragora*), a plant which has been looked upon with a ſort of feeling of reverential fear at all periods, and almoſt in all parts. Its Teutonic name, *alrun*, or, in its more modern form, *alraun*, ſpeaks at once of the belief in its magical qualities among that race. People looked upon it as poſſeſſing ſome degree of animal life, and it was generally believed that, when it was drawn out of the earth, it uttered a cry, and that this cry carried certain death or madneſs to the perſon who extracted it. To eſcape this danger, the remedy was to tie a ſtring round it, which was to be attached to a dog, and the latter, being driven away, dragged up the root in its attempt to run off, and experienced the fatal conſequences. The root was the important part of the plant; it has ſomewhat the form of a forked radiſh, and was believed to repreſent exactly the human form below the waiſt, with, in the male and female plants, the human organs of generation diſtinctly developed. The mandrake, when it could be obtained, was uſed in the middle ages in the place of the phallic amulet, and was carefully carried on the perſon, or preſerved in the houſe. It conferred fertility in more ſenſes than one, for it was believed that as long as you kept it locked up with your money, the latter would become

[1] Carduus puellarum legitur et ab eiſdem centum cruces.

doubled in quantity every year; and it had at the ſame time all the protective qualities of the phallus. The Templars were accuſed of worſhiping the mandrake, or *mandragora*, which became an object of great celebrity in France during the reigns of the weak monarchs Charles VI. and Charles VII. In 1429 one Friar Richard, of the order of the Cordeliers, preached a fierce ſermon againſt the use of this amulet, the temporary effect of which was ſo great, that a certain number of his congregation delivered up their "mandragoires" to the preacher to be burnt.[1]

It appears that the people who dealt in theſe amulets helped nature to a rather conſiderable extent by the means of art, and that there was a regular proceſs of cooking them up. They were neceſſarily aware that the roots themſelves, in their natural ſtate, preſented, to ſay the leaſt, very imperfectly the form which men's imagination had given to them, ſo they obtained the fineſt roots they could, which, when freſh from the ground, were plump and ſoft, and readily took any impreſſion which might be given to them. They then ſtuck grains of millet or barley into the parts where they wiſhed to have hair, and again put it into a hole in the earth, until theſe grains had germinated and formed their roots. This proceſs, it was ſaid, was perfected within twenty days. They then took up the mandrake again, trimmed the fibrous roots of millet or barley which ſerved for hair, retouched the parts themſelves ſo as to give them their form more perfectly and more permanently, and then ſold it.[2]

Beſides theſe great and general priapic feſtivals, there were doubtleſs others of leſs importance, or more local in their character, which degenerated in aftertimes into mere local ceremonies and

[1] *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, under the year 1429.

[2] See the authorities for theſe ſtatements in Dulaure, pp. 254—256.

feſtivities. This would be the caſe eſpecially in cities and corporate towns, where the guilds came in, to perpetuate the inſtitution, and to give it gradually a modified form. Moſt towns in England had once feſtivals of this character, and at leaſt three repreſentatives of them are ſtill kept up, the proceſſion of Lady Godiva at Coventry, the Shrewſbury ſhow, and the guild feſtival at Preſton in Lancaſhire. In the firſt of theſe, the lady who is ſuppoſed to ride naked in the proceſſion probably repreſents ſome feature in the ancient priapic celebration; and the ſtory of the manner in which the Lady Godiva averted the anger of her huſband from the townſmen, which is certainly a mere fable, was no doubt invented to explain a feature of the celebration, the real meaning of which had in courſe of time been forgotten. The pageantry of the Shrewſbury ſhow appears to be ſimilarly the unmeaning reflection of forms belonging to older and forgotten practices and principles. On the Continent there were many ſuch local feſtivals, ſuch as the feaſt of fools, the feaſt of aſſes (the aſs was an animal ſacred to Priapus), and others, all which were adapted by the mediæval church exactly as the clergy had taken advantage of the profit to be derived from the phallic worſhip in other forms.

The leaden tokens, or medalets, which we have already deſcribed,[1] ſeem to point evidently to the exiſtence in the middle ages of ſecret ſocieties or clubs connected with this obſcene worſhip, beſides the public feſtivals. Of theſe it can hardly be expected that any deſcription would ſurvive, but, if not the fact, the belief in it is clearly eſtabliſhed by the eagerneſs with which ſuch obſcene rites were laid to the charge of moſt of the mediæval ſecret ſocieties, whether lay clubs or religious ſects, and we know that ſecret ſocieties abounded in the middle ages. However willing the Romiſh clergy were to make profit out of the popular phallic wor-

[1] See before, p. 146, and Plate xxxiii.

ſhip, they were equally ready to uſe the belief in it as a means of exciting prejudice againſt any ſects which the church choſe to regard as religious or political heretics.

It is very evident that, in the earlier ages of the church, the converſion of the Pagans to Chriſtianity was in a vaſt number of caſes leſs than a half-converſion, and that the preachers of the goſpel were ſatisfied by people aſſuming the name of Chriſtians, without inquiring too cloſely into the ſincerity of their change, or into their practice. We can trace in the expreſſions of diſapproval in the writings of ſome of the more zealous of the eccleſiaſtical writers, and in the canons of the earlier councils, the alarm created by the prevalence among Chriſtians of the old popular feſtivals of paganiſm; and the revival of thoſe particular canons and deprecatory remarks in the eccleſiaſtical councils and writings of a later period of the middle ages ſhows that the exiſtence of the evil had continued unabated. There was an African council in the year 381, from which Burchardus, who compiled his condenſation of eccleſiaſtical decrees for the uſe of his own time, profeſſes to derive his proviſions againſt "the feſtivals which were held with Pagan ceremonies." We are there told that, even on the moſt ſacred of the Chriſtian commemoration days, theſe rites derived from the Pagans were introduced, and that dancing was practiſed in the open ſtreets of ſo infamous a character, and accompanied with ſuch laſcivious language and geſtures, that the modeſty of reſpectable females was ſhocked to a degree that prevented their attendance at the ſervice in the churches on thoſe days.[1] It is added that

[1] Illud etiam petendum, ut quoniam contra præcepta divina convivia multis in locis exercentur, quæ ab errore gentili attracta ſunt, ita ut nunc a paganis ad hæc celebranda cogantur, ex qua re temporibus Chriſtianorum imperatorum perſecutio altera fieri occulta videatur, vetari talia jubeant, et de civitatibus et poſſeſſionibus impoſita pœna prohiberi, maxime cum etiam in natalibus beatiſſimorum martyrum per nonnullas civitates et in ipſis locis ſacris talia committere non reformident, quibus

theſe Pagan ceremonies were even carried into the churches, and that many of the clergy took part in them.

It is probable, too, that when Paganiſm itſelf had become an offence againſt the ſtate, and thoſe who continued attached to it were expoſed to perſecution, they embraced the name of Chriſtians as a cover for the groſſeſt ſuperſtitions, and formed ſects who practiſed the rites of Paganiſm in their ſecret conventicles, but were placed by the church among the Chriſtian hereſies. In ſome of theſe, eſpecially among thoſe of an early date, the obſcene rites and principles of the phallic worſhip ſeem to have entered largely, for, though their opponents probably exaggerated the actual vice carried on under their name, yet much of it muſt have had an exiſtence in truth. It was a mixture of the licence of the vulgar Paganiſm of antiquity with the wild doctrines of the latter eaſtern philoſophers. The older orthodox writers dwell on the details of theſe libidinous rites. Among the earlieſt in date were the Adamiani, or Adamites, who proſcribed marriage, and held that the moſt perfect innocence was conſiſtent only with the community of women. They choſe *latibula*, or caverns, for their conventicles, at which both ſexes aſſembled together in perfect nakedneſs.[1] This ſect perhaps continued to exiſt under different forms, but it was revived among the intellectual vagaries of the fifteenth century, and continued at leaſt to be much talked of till the ſeventeenth. The doctrine of the community of women, and the practice of promiſcuous ſexual intercourſe in their meetings, were aſcribed by the early Chriſtian

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diebus etiam, quod pudoris eſt dicere, ſaltationes ſceleratiſſimas per vicos atque plateas exerceant, ut matronalis honor, et innumerabilium fœminarum pudor, devote venientium ad ſacratiſſimum diem, injuriis laſcivientium appetatur, ut etiam ipſius ſanctæ religionis pæne fugiatur acceſſus. Burchard. *Decret.*, lib. x, c. 20, *De conviviis quæ fiunt ritu paganorum, ex Concil. Africano, cap.* 27. See Labbæi, *Concil.*, tom. ii, col. 1085.

[1] Epiphanii Epiſc. Conſtant. *Panarium verſus Hæres.*, vol. i, p. 459, ed Petav.

controverſialiſts to ſeveral ſects, ſuch as the followers of Florian, and of Carpocratian, who were accuſed of putting out the lamps in their churches at the end of the evening ſervice, and indulging in ſexual intercourſe indiſcriminately ;[1] the Nicolaitæ, who held their wives in common ; the Ebionei ; and eſpecially the Gnoſtics, or followers of Baſilides, and the Manichæans. The Nicolaites held that the only way to ſalvation lay through frequent intercourſe between the ſexes.[2] Epiphanius ſpeaks of a ſect who ſacrificed a child in their ſecret rites by pricking it with brazen pins, and then offering its blood.[3] The Gnoſtics were accuſed of eating human fleſh as well as of laſciviouſneſs, and they alſo are ſaid to have held their women in common, and taught that it was a duty to proſtitute their wives to their gueſts.[4] They knew their fellow ſectarians by a ſecret ſign, which conſiſted in tickling the palm of the hand with the finger in a peculiar manner. The ſign having been recognized, mutual confidence was eſtabliſhed, and the ſtranger was invited to ſupper ; after they had eaten their fill, the huſband removed from the ſide of his wife, and ſaid to her, "Go, exhibit charity to our gueſt," which was the ſignal for thoſe further ſcenes of hoſpitality.[5] This account is given us by St. Epiphanius, biſhop of Conſtantia. We are told further of rites practiced by the Gnoſtics, which were ſtill more diſguſting, for they were ſaid, after theſe libidinous ſcenes, to offer and adminiſter the *ſemen virile*

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[1] In eccleſia ſua poſt occaſum ſolis lucernis extinctis miſceri cum mulierculis. Philaſtri *de Hæreſibus Liber*, c. 57.

[2] Epiphanii *Panarium*, vol. 1, p. 72.

[3] Epiphanius, vol. i, p. 416.

[4] On the ſecret worſhip and character of the Gnoſtics, ſee Epiphanii *Panarium*, vol. i, pp. 84—102.

[5] *ἐκ τούτου δὲ συμποσιάσαντες, καὶ ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, τὰς φλέβας τοῦ κόρου ἐμπλήσαντες ἑαυτῶν, εἰς οἶστρον τρέπονται. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ τῆς γυναικὸς ὑποχωρήσας φάσκει λεγων τῇ ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὶ ὅτι ἀνάστα λέγων, ποίησον τήν ἀγάπην μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ. οἱ δὲ τάλανες μιγέντες ἀλλήλοις.* Epiphan. *Panarium*, vol. i, p. 86.

as their ſacrament.[1] A ſimilar practice is deſcribed as exiſting among women in the middle ages for the purpoſe of ſecuring the love of their huſbands, and was perhaps derived from the Gnoſtics and Manichæans, whoſe doctrines, brought from the Eaſt, appear to have ſpread themſelves extenſively into Weſtern Europe.[2]

Of theſe doctrines, however, we have no traces at leaſt until the eleventh century, when a great intellectual agitation began in Weſtern Europe, which brought to the surface of ſociety a multitude of ſtrange creeds and ſtrange theories. The popular worſhip diſplayed in the great annual feſtivals, and the equally popular local *fêtes*, urban or rural, were hardly interfered with, or any ſecret ſocieties belonging to the old worſhip; the mediæval church did not conſider them as hereſies, and let them alone. Thus, except now and then a proviſion of ſome eccleſiaſtical council expreſſed in general terms againſt ſuperſtitions, which was hardly heard at the time and not liſtened to, they are paſſed over in ſilence. But the moment anything under the name of hereſy raiſed its head, the alarm was great. Gnoſticiſm and Manichæiſm, which had indeed been identical, were the hereſies moſt hated in the Eaſtern empire, and, as may be ſuppoſed, moſt perſecuted; and this perſecution was deſtined to drive them weſtward. In the ſeventh cen-

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[1] See details on this ſubject in Epiphanii *Panarium*, ib. Conf. Prædeſtinati *Adverſus Hæres.*, lib. i, c. 46, where the ſame thing is ſaid of the Manichæans.

[2] Guſtaſti de ſemine viri tui, ut, propter tua diabolica facta, plus in amorem tuum exardeſceret? Si feciſti, ſeptem annos per legitimas ferias pœnitere debes. Burchardi *Decretorum* lib. xix. The ſame practices appear to have exiſted among the Anglo-Saxons. Thus, one of the caſes in Theodori *Liber Pœnitentialis*, (in Thorpe's *Ancient Laws and Inſtitutes*,) is,—Mulier quæ ſemen viri ſui in cibum miſerit, ut inde amoris ejus plus accipiat, vii. annos pœniteat. Theod. *Lib. Pœn.* xvi. 30. And again, Mulier quæ ſemen viri cum cibo ſuo miſcuerit, et id ſumpſerit, ut maſculo carior ſit, iii. annos jejunet. Ecgberti *Confeſſionale*, ſec. 29. Sprenger, *Malleus Maleficarum*, quæſt. vii, tells us of witches who made men eat *bien autre choſe* to ſecure their love.

tury they became modified into a ſect which took the name of Paulicians, it is ſaid, from an Armenian enthuſiaſt named Paulus, and they ſeem to have ſtill further provoked the hatred of the church by making themſelves, in their own intereſts, the advocates of freedom of thought and of eccleſiaſtical reform. If hiſtory be to be believed, their Chriſtian feelings cannot have been very ſtrong, for, unable to reſiſt perſecution within the empire, they retired into the territory held by the Saracens, and united with the enemies of the Croſs in making war upon the Chriſtian Greeks. Others ſought refuge in the country of the Bulgarians, who had very generally embraced their doctrines, which ſoon ſpread thence weſtward. In their progreſs through Germany to France they were known beſt as Bulgarians, from the name of the country whence they came; in their way through Italy they retained their name of Paulicians, corrupted in the Latin of that period of the middle ages into *Populicani*, *Poplicani*, *Publicani*, &c; and, in French, into *Popelican*, *Poblican*, *Policien*, and various other forms which it is unneceſſary to enumerate. They began to cauſe alarm in France at the beginning of the eleventh century, in the reign of king Robert, when, under the name of Popelicans, they had eſtabliſhed themſelves in the dioceſe of Orleans, in which city a council was held againſt them in 1022, and thirteen individuals were condemned to be burnt. The name appears to have laſted into the thirteenth century, but the name of Bulgarians became more permanent, and, in its French form of *Bolgres*, *Bougres*, or *Bogres*, became the popular name for heretics in general. With theſe hereſies, through the more ſenſual parts of Gnoſticiſm and Manichæiſm, there appears to be left hardly room for doubt that the ancient phallic worſhip, probably ſomewhat modified, and under the ſhadow of ſecret rites, was imported into Weſtern Europe; for, if we make allowance for the willing exaggerations of religious hatred, and conſequent popular prejudice, the general conviction

that theſe ſectarians had rites and practices of a licentious character appears too ſtrong to be entirely diſregarded, nor does it preſent anything contrary to what we know of the ſtate of mediæval ſociety, or to the facts which have already been brought forward in the preſent eſſay. Theſe early ſects appear to have profeſſed doctrines rather cloſely reſembling modern communiſm, including, like thoſe of their earlier ſectarian predeceſſors, the community of women; and this community naturally implies the abolition of diſtinctive affinities. One of the writers againſt the mediæval heretics aſſures us that there were "many profeſſed Chriſtians, both men and women, who feared no more to go to their ſiſter, or ſon or daughter, or brother, or nephew or niece, or kin or relation, than to their own wife or huſband."[1] They were accuſed, beyond this, of indulging in unnatural vices, and this charge was ſo generally believed, that the name of Bulgarus, or heretic, became equivalent with Sodomite, and hence came the modern French word *bougre*, and its Engliſh repreſentatives.

In the courſe of the eleventh century the ſectarians appeared in Italy under the name of Patarini, Paterini, or Patrini, which is ſaid to have been taken from an old quarter of the city of Milan named Pataria, in which they firſt held their aſſemblies. A contemporary Engliſhman, Walter Mapes, gives us a ſingular account of the Paterini and their ſecret rites. Some apoſtates from this hereſy, he tells us, had related that, at the firſt watch of night, they met in their ſynagogues, cloſed carefully the doors and windows, and waited in ſilence, until a black cat of extraordinary bigneſs deſcended among them by a rope, and that, as ſoon as they ſaw

[1] Et hæc eſt cauſa quare multi credentes, tam viri quam mulieres, non timent magis ad fororem ſuam, et filium ſive filiam, fratrem, neptem, conſanguineam, et cognatam accedere, quam ad uxorem et virum proprium. Reinerus, *Contra Waldenſes*, in Gretſerus, *Scriptores contra Sectam Waldenſium*, Gretſeri Opera, tom. xii, p. 33.

this ſtrange animal, they put out the lights, and muttering through their teeth inſtead of ſinging their hymns, felt their way to this object of their worſhip, and kiſſed it, according to their feelings of humility or pride, ſome on the feet, ſome under the tail, and others on the genitals, after which each ſeized upon the neareſt perſon of a different ſex, and had carnal intercourſe as long as he was able. Their leaders taught them that the moſt perfect degree of charity was "to do or ſuffer in this manner whatever a brother or ſiſter might deſire and aſk," and hence, ſays Mapes, they were called Paterini, *a patiendo*.[1] Other writers have ſuggeſted a different derivation, but the one firſt given appears to be that moſt generally accepted. The different ſects or congregations in Italy and the ſouth, indeed, appear generally to have taken their names from the towns in which they had their ſeats or head-quarters. Thus, thoſe who were ſeated at Bagnols, in the department of the Gard, in the ſouth of France, were called by the Latin writers Bagnolenſes; the ſame writers give the name of Concordenſes, or Concorezenſes, to the heretics of Concordia in Lombardy; and the city of Albi, now the capital of the department of the Tarn, gave its name to the ſect of the Albigenſes, or Albigeois, the moſt extenſive

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[1] Reſipuerunt autem multi, reverſique ad fidem enarrant quod circa primam noctis vigiliam, clauſis eorum januis, hoſtiis, et feneſtris, expectantes in ſingulis ſinagogis ſuis ſingulæ ſedeant in ſilentio familiæ, deſcenditque per funem appenſum in medio miræ magnitudinis murelegus niger, quem cum viderint, luminibus extinctis, hymnos non decantant, non diſtincte dicunt, ſed ruminant aſſertis dentibus, accedunt que ubi dominum ſuum viderint palpantes, inventumque deoſculantur quiſque ſecundum quod ampliore fervet inſania humilius, quidam pedes, plurimi ſub cauda, plerique pudenda, et quaſi a loco fœtoris accepta licentia pruriginis, quiſque ſibi proximum aut proximam arripit, commiſcenturque quantum quiſque ludibrium extendere prævalet. Dicunt etiam magiſtri docentque novitios caritatem eſſe perfectam agere vel pati quod deſideraverit et petierit frater aut ſoror, extinguere ſcilicet invicem ardentes, et a patiendo Paterini dicuntur. Mapes, *De Nugis Curialium*, p. 61.

of them all, which ſpread over the whole of the ſouth of France. A rich enthuſiaſt of the city of Lyons, named Waldo, who had collected his wealth by mercantile purſuits, and who lived in the twelfth century, ſold his property and diſtributed it among the poor, and he became the head of a ſect which profeſſed poverty as one of its tenets, and received from the name of its founder that of Waldenſes or Vaudois. From their profeſſion of voluntary poverty they are ſometimes ſpoken of by the name of *Pauperes de Lugduno*, the paupers of Lyons. Contemporaries ſpeak of the Waldenſes as being generally poor ignorant people; yet they ſpread widely over that part of France and into the valleys of Switzerland, and became ſo celebrated, that at laſt nearly all the mediæval heretics were uſually claſſed under the head of Waldenſes. Another ſect, uſually claſſed with the Waldenſes, were called Cathari. The Novatians, a ſect which ſprang up in the church in the third century, aſſumed alſo the name of Cathari, as laying claim to extraordinary purity (*καθαροὶ*), but there is no reaſon for believing that the ancient ſect was revived in the Cathari of the later period, or even that the two words are identical. The name of the latter ſect is often ſpelt Gazari, Gazeri, Gaçari, and Chazari; and, as they were more eſpecially a German ſect, it is ſupposed to have been the origin of the German words *Ketzer* and *Ketzerie*, which became the common German terms for a heretic and hereſy. It was ſuggeſted by Henſchenius that this name was derived from the German *Katze* or *Ketze*, a cat, in alluſion to the common report that they aſſembled at night like cats, or ghoſts;[1] or the cat may have been an alluſion to the belief that in their ſecret meetings they worſhipped that animal. This ſect muſt have been very ignorant and ſuperſtitious if it be true which ſome old writers

[1] Propter noctурnas coitiones, a voce Germanica *caters*, id eſt, feles ſeu lemures. See Ducange, ſub v. *Catbari*.

tell us, that they believed that the ſun was a demon, and the moon a female called Heva, and that theſe two had ſexual intercourſe every month.[1] Like the other heretical ſects, theſe Cathari were accuſed of indulging in unnatural vices, and the German words *Ketzerie* and *Ketzer* were eventually uſed to ſignify ſodomy and a ſodomite, as well as hereſy and a heretic.

The Waldenſes generally, taking all the ſects which people claſs under this name, including alſo the older Bulgari and Publicani, were charged with holding ſecret meetings, at which the devil appeared to them in the ſhape, according to ſome, of a goat, whom they worſhipped by offering the kiſs *in ano*, after which they indulged in promiſcuous ſexual intercourſe. Some believed that they were conveyed to theſe meetings by unearthly means. The Engliſh chronicler Ralph de Coggeſhall, tells a ſtrange ſtory of the means of locomotion poſſeſſed by theſe heretics. In the city of Rheims, in France, in the time of St. Louis, a handſome young woman was charged with hereſy, and carried before the archbiſhop, in whoſe preſence ſhe avowed her opinions, and confeſſed that ſhe had received them from a certain old woman of that city. The old woman was then arreſted, convicted of being an obſtinate heretic, and condemned to the ſtake. When they were preparing to carry her out to the fire, ſhe ſuddenly turned to the judges and ſaid, "Do you think that you are able to burn me in your fire? I care neither for it nor for you!" And taking a ball of thread, ſhe threw it out at a large window by which ſhe was ſtanding, holding the end of the thread in her hands, and exclaiming, "Take it!" (*recipe*). In an inſtant, in the ſight of all who were there, the old woman was lifted from the ground, and, following the ball of thread, was carried into the air nobody knew where; and the archbiſhop's officers

[1] Bonacurſus, *Vita Hæreticornm*, in D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, tom. i, p. 209. This book is conſidered to have been written about the year 1190.

burnt the young woman in her place.[1] It was the belief of moſt of the old ſects of this claſs, as well as of the more ancient Pagans from whom they were derived, that thoſe who were fully initiated into their moſt ſecret myſteries became endowed with powers and faculties above thoſe poſſeſſed by ordinary individuals. A liſt of the errors of the Waldenſes, printed in the *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, from an Engliſh manuſcript, enumerates among them that they met to indulge in promiſcuous ſexual intercourſe, and held perverſe doctrines in accordance with it; that, in ſome parts, the devil appeared to them in the form of a cat, and that each kiſſed him under the tail; and that in other parts they rode to the place of meeting upon a ſtaff anointed with a certain unguent, and were conveyed thither in a moment of time. The writer adds that, in the parts where he lived, theſe practices had not been known to exiſt for a long time.[2]

Our old chroniclers exult over the ſmall ſucceſs which attended the efforts of theſe heretics from France and the South to introduce themſelves into our iſland.[3] Theſe ſects, with ſecret and obſcene

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[1] Radulphus Cogeſhalenſis, in the *Ampliſſima Collectio* of Martene and Durand. On the offences with which the different ſects compriſed under the name of Waldenſes were charged, ſee Gretſer's *Scriptores contra Sectam Waldenſium*, which will be found in the twelfth volume of his works, Bonacurſus, *Vita Hæreticorum*, in the firſt volume of D'Achery's *Spicilegium*, and the work of a Carthuſian monk in Martene and Durand, *Ampliſſima Collectio*, vol. vi, col. 57 et ſeq.

[2] Wright and Halliwell, *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, vol. i, p. 247.

Item, habent inter ſe mixtum abominabile, et perverſa dogmata ad hoc apta, ſed non reperitur quod abutantur in partibus iſtis a multis temporibus.

Item, in aliquibus aliis partibus apparet eis dæmon ſub ſpecie et figura cati, quem ſub cauda figillatim oſculantur.

Item, in aliis partibus ſuper unum baculum certo unguento perunctum equitant, et ad loca aſſignata ubi voluerint congregantur in momento dum volunt. Sed iſta in iſtis partibus non inveniuntur.

[3] See, for example, Guil. Neubrigenſis, *De Rebus Anglicis*, lib. ii, c. 13, and Walter Mapes, *de Nugis Curialium*, p. 62.

rites, appear, indeed, to have found moſt favour among the peoples who ſpoke a dialect derived from the Latin, and this we might naturally be led to expect, for the fact of the preſervation of the Latin tongue is itſelf a proof of the greater force of the Roman element in the ſociety, that from which theſe ſecret rites appear to have been chiefly derived. It is a curious circumſtance, in connection with this ſubject, that the popular oaths and exclamations among the people ſpeaking the languages derived from the Romans are almoſt all compoſed of the names of the objects of this phallic worſhip, an entire contraſt to the practice of the Teutonic tribes—the vulgar oaths of the people ſpeaking Neo-Latin dialects are obſcene, thoſe of the Germanic race are profane. We have ſeen how the women of Antwerp, who, though perhaps they did not ſpeak the Roman dialect, appear to have been much influenced by Roman ſentiments, made their appeal to their genius Ters. When a Spaniard is irritated or ſuddenly excited, he exclaims, *Carajo!* (the virile member) or *Cojones!* (the teſticles). An Italian, under ſimilar circumſtances, uſes the exclamation *Cazzo!* (the virile member). The Frenchman apoſtrophizes the act, *Foutre!* The female member, *coño* with the Spaniard, *conno* with the Italian, and *con* with the Frenchman, was and is uſed more generally as an expreſſion of contempt, which is alſo the caſe with the teſticles, *couillons*, in French—thoſe who have had experience in the old days of "diligence" travelling will remember how uſual it was for the driver, when the horſes would not go quick enough, to addreſs the leader in ſuch terms as, "*Va, donc, vieux con!*" We have no ſuch words uſed in this manner in the Germanic languages, with the exception, perhaps, of the German *Potz!* and *Potztauſend!* and the Engliſh equivalent, *Pox!* which laſt is gone quite out of uſe. There was an attempt among the faſhionables of our Elizabethan age of literature, to introduce the Italian *cazzo* under the form of *catſo*, and the French *foutre* under that of *foutra*, but theſe were

mere affectations of a moment, and were ſo little in accord with our national ſentiments that they ſoon diſappeared.

The earlieſt accounts of a ſect which held ſecret meetings for celebrating obſcene rites is found in France. It appears that, early in the eleventh century, there was in the city of Orleans a ſociety conſiſting of members of both ſexes, who aſſembled at certain times in a houſe there, for the purpoſes which are deſcribed rather fully in a document found in the cartulary of the abbey of St. Père at Chartres. As there ſtated, they went to the meeting, each carrying in the hand a lighted lamp, and they began by chaunting the names of demons in the manner of a litany, until a demon ſuddenly deſcended among them in the form of an animal. This was no ſooner ſeen, than they all extinguiſhed their lamps, and each man took the firſt female he put his hand upon, and had ſexual intercourſe with her, without regard if ſhe were his mother, or his ſiſter, or a conſecrated nun; and this intercourſe, we are told, was looked upon by them as an act of holineſs and religion. The child which was the fruit of this intercourſe was taken on the eighth day and purified by fire, "in the manner of the ancient Pagans,"—ſo ſays the contemporary writer of this document,—it was burnt to aſhes in a large fire made for that purpoſe. The aſhes were collected with great reverence, and preſerved, to be adminiſtered to members of the ſociety who were dying, juſt as good Chriſtians received the viaticum. It is added that there was ſuch a virtue in theſe aſhes, that an individual who had once taſted them would hardly ever after be able to turn his mind from that hereſy and take the path of truth.[1]

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[1] Congregabantur ſiquidem certis noctibus in domo denominata, ſinguli lucernas tenentes in manibus, et, ad inſtar letaniæ, dæmonum nomina declamabant, donec ſubito dæmonem in ſimilitudine cujuſlibet beſtiolæ inter eos viderent deſcendere. Qui, ſtatim ut viſibilis illa videbatur viſio, omnibus extinctis luminaribus, quamprimum quiſque poterat, mulierem quæ ad manum ſibi veniebat ad abutendum arri-

Whatever degree of truth there may have been in this ſtory, it muſt have been greatly exaggerated; but the conviction of the exiſtence of ſecret ſocieties of this character during the middle ages appears to have been ſo ſtrong and so generally held, that we muſt heſitate in rejecting it. Perhaps we may take the leaden tokens already deſcribed, and repreſented in one of our plates,[1] as evidence of the exiſtence of ſuch ſocieties, for theſe curious objects appear to admit of no other ſatisfactory explanation than that of having been in uſe in ſecret clubs of a very impure character.

It has been already remarked that people ſoon ſeized upon accuſations of this kind as excuſes for perſecution, religious and political, and we meet with a curious example in the earlier half of the thirteenth century. The diſtrict of Steding, in the north of Germany, now known as Oldenburg, was at the beginning of the thirteenth century inhabited by a people who lived in ſturdy independence, but the archbiſhops of Bremen ſeem to have claimed ſome ſort of feudal ſuperiority over them, which they reſiſted by force. The archbiſhop, in revenge, declared them heretics, and proclaimed a cruſade againſt them. Cruſades againſt heretics were then in faſhion, for it was juſt at the time of the great war againſt the Albigeois. The Stedingers maintained their independence ſucceſsfully for ſome years. In 1232 and 1233, the pope iſſued two

piebat, ſine peccati reſpectu et utrum mater aut ſoror aut monacha haberetur, pro ſanctitate ac religione ejus concubitus ab illis æſtimabatur. Ex quo ſpurciſſimo concubitu infans generatus octava die in medio eorum copioſo igne accenſo piabatur per ignem, more antiquorum paganorum, et ſic in igne cremabatur. Cujus cinis tanta veneratione colligebatur atque cuſtodiebatur, ut Chriſtiana religioſitas corpus Chriſti cuſtodiri ſolet, ægris dandum de hoc ſeculo exituris ad viaticum. Inerat enim tanta vis diabolicæ fraudis in ipſo cinere, ut quicumque de præfata hæreſi imbutus fuiſſet, et de eodem cinere quamvis ſumendo parum prælibaviſſet, vix unquam poſtea de eadem hæreſi greſſum mentis ad viam veritatis dirigere valeret. Guérard, *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Saint-Père de Chartres*, vol. i, p. 112.

[1] See before, p. 146, and Plate xxxiii.

bulls againſt the offending Stedingers, in both of which he charges them with various heathen and magical practices, but in the ſecond he enters more fully into details. Theſe Stedingers, the pope (Gregory IX.) tells us, performed the following ceremonies at the initiation of a new convert into their ſect. When the novice was introduced, a toad preſented itſelf, which all who were preſent kiſſed, ſome on the poſteriors, and others on the mouth, when they drew its tongue and ſpittle into their own mouths. Sometimes this toad appeared of only the natural ſize, but ſometimes it was as big as a gooſe or duck, and often its ſize was that of an oven. As the novice proceeded, he encountered a man who was extraordinarily pale, with large black eyes, and whoſe body was ſo waſted that his fleſh ſeemed to be all gone, leaving nothing but the ſkin hanging on his bones. The novice kiſſed this perſonage, and found him as cold as ice; and after this kiſs all traces of the Catholic faith vaniſhed from his heart. Then they all ſat down to a banquet; and when this was over, there ſtepped out of a ſtatue, which ſtood in their place of meeting, a black cat, as large as a moderate ſized dog, which advanced backwards to them, with its tail turned up. The novice firſt, then the maſter, and then all the others in their turns, kiſſed the cat under the tail, and then returned to their places, where they remained in ſilence, with their heads inclined towards the cat. Then the maſter ſuddenly pronounced the words "Spare us!" which he addreſſed to the next in order; and the third answered, "We know it, lord;" and a fourth added, "We ought to obey." At the cloſe of this ceremony the lights were extinguiſhed, and each man took the firſt woman who came to hand, and had carnal intercourſe with her. When this was over, the candles were again lighted, and the performers reſumed their places. Then out of a dark corner of the room came a man, the upper part of whom, above the loins, was bright and radiant as the ſun, and illuminated the whole room, while his lower parts were rough and hairy like a

cat. The maſter then tore off a bit of the garment of the novice, and ſaid to the ſhining perſonage, "Maſter, this is given to me, and I give it again to thee." The maſter replied, "Thou haſt ſerved me well, and thou wilt ſerve me more and better; what thou haſt given me I give unto thy keeping." When he had ſaid this, the ſhining man vaniſhed, and the meeting broke up. Such were the ſecret ceremonies of the Stedingers, according to the deliberate ſtatement of pope Gregory IX, who alſo charges them with offering direct worſhip to Lucifer.[1]

But the moſt remarkable, and at the ſame time the moſt celebrated, affair in which theſe accuſations of ſecret and obſcene ceremonies were brought to bear, was that of the trial and diſſolution of the order of the knights templars. The charges againſt the knights templars were not heard of for the firſt time at the period of their diſſolution, but for many years it had been whiſpered abroad that they had ſecret opinions and practices of an objectionable character. At length the wealth of the order, which was very great in France, excited the cupidity of king Philippe IV, and it was reſolved to proceed againſt them, and deſpoil them of their poſſeſſions. The grounds for theſe proceedings were furniſhed by two templars, one a Gaſcon, the other an Italian, who were evidently men of bad character, and who, having been impriſoned for ſome offence or offences, made a confeſſion of the ſecret practices of their order, and upon theſe confeſſions certain articles of accuſation were drawn up. Theſe appear to have been enlarged afterwards. In 1307, Jacques de Molay, the grand maſter of the order, was treacherouſly allured to Paris by the king, and there ſeized and thrown into priſon. Others, ſimilarly committed to priſon in all parts of the kingdom, were examined individually on

[1] Baronius, *Annales Eccleſiaſtici*, tom. xxi, p. 89, where the two bulls are printed, and where the details of the hiſtory of the Stedingers will be found.

the charges urged againſt them, and many confeſſed, while others obſtinately denied the whole. Amongſt theſe charges were the following: 1. That on the admiſſion of a new member of the order, after having taken the oath of obedience, he was obliged to deny Chriſt, and to ſpit, and ſometimes alſo to trample, upon the croſs; 2. That they then received the kiſs of the templar, who officiated as receiver, on the mouth, and afterwards were obliged to kiſs him *in ano*, on the navel, and ſometimes on the generative member; 3. That, in deſpite of the Saviour, they ſometimes worſhipped a cat, which appeared amongſt them in their ſecret conclave; 4. That they practiſed unnatural vice together; 5. That they had idols in their different provinces; in the form of a head, having ſometimes three faces, ſometimes two, or only one, and ſometimes a bare ſkull, which they called their ſaviour, and believed its influence to be exerted in making them rich, and in making flowers grow and the earth germinate; and 6. That they always wore about their bodies a cord which had been rubbed againſt the head, and which ſerved for their protection.[1]

The ceremonies attending the reception into the order were ſo univerſally acknowledged, and are deſcribed in terms which have ſo much the appearance of truthfulneſs, that we can hardly altogether diſbelieve in them. The denial was to be repeated thrice, no doubt in imitation of St. Peter. It appears to have been conſidered as a trial of the ſtrength of the obedience they had just ſworn to the order, and they all pleaded that they had obeyed with reluctance, that they had denied with the mouth but not with the heart; and that they had intentionally ſpit beſide the croſs and not upon it. In one inſtance the croſs was of ſilver, but it was more commonly of braſs, and ſtill more frequently of wood; on one occaſion the croſs painted in a miſſal was uſed, and the croſs on the templar's mantle often ſerved

[1] *Procès des Templiers*, edited by M. Michelet, vol. i, pp. 90-92.

the purpoſe. When one Nicholas de Compiegne proteſted againſt theſe two acts, all the templars who were preſent told him that he muſt do them, for it was the cuſtom of the order.[1] Baldwin de St. Juſt at firſt refuſed, but the receptor warned him that if he perſiſted in his refuſal, it would be the worſe for him (*aliter male accideret ſibi*), and then "he was ſo much alarmed that his hair ſtood on end."[2] Jacques de Trecis ſaid that he did it under fear, becauſe his receptor ſtood by with a great naked ſword in his hand.[3] Another, Geoffrey de Thatan, having ſimilarly refuſed, his receptor told him that they were "points of the order," and that if he did not comply, "he ſhould be put in ſuch a place that he would never ſee his own feet."[4] And another who refuſed to utter the words of denial was thrown into priſon and kept there until veſpers, and when he ſaw that he was in peril of death, he yielded, and did whatever the receptor required of him, but he adds that he was ſo troubled and frightened that he had forgotten whether he ſpat on the croſs or not.[5] Gui de la Roche, a preſbyter of the dioceſe of Limoges, ſaid that he uttered the denial with great weeping.[6] Another, when he denied Chriſt, "was all ſtupified and troubled, and it ſeemed to him as if he were enchanted, not knowing what counſel to take, as they threatened him heavily if he did not do it."[7] When Etienne de

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1 *Procès des Templiers*, ii, 418.

2 Et tunc ipſe teſtis fuit magis attonitus, et orripilavit, id eſt eriguere pili ſui. *Procès*, i, 242.

3 *Procès*, i, 254.

4 Subjunxit idem receptor quod iſta erant de punctis ordinis . . . . ſubjiciens dictum præceptorem ſibi dixiſſe quod, niſi prædicta faceret, poneretur in tali loco quod nunquam videret pedes ſuos. *Procès*, i, pp. 222, 223. See alſo, i, 321.

5 Et tunc dictus recipiens poſuit eum in quodam carcere, in quo ſtetit uſque ad veſperas; et cum vidiſſet quod eſſet in periculo mortis, petivit quod exiret, et faceret voluntatem ejus. *Procès*, ii, 284.

6 Cum magno fletu. *Procès*, ii, 219.

7 Et ipſe fuit totus ſtupefactus et turbatus, et videbatur ſibi quaſi quod eſſet in-

Dijon ſimilarly refuſed to deny his Saviour, the preceptor told him that he muſt do it becauſe he had ſworn to obey his orders, and then "he denied with his mouth," he ſaid, "but not with his heart; and he did this with great grief," and he adds that when it was done, he was ſo conſcience-ſtruck that "he wiſhed he had been outſide at his liberty, even though it had been with the loſs of one of his arms."[1] When Odo de Dompierre, with great reluctance, at length ſpat on the croſs, he ſaid that he did it with ſuch bitterneſs of heart that he would rather have had his two thighs broken.[2] Michelet, in the account of the proceedings againſt the templars in his "Hiſtory of France," offers an ingenious explanation of theſe ceremonies of initiation which gives them a typical meaning. He imagines that they were borrowed from the figurative myſteries and rites of the early Church, and ſuppoſes that, in this ſpirit, the candidate for admiſſion into the order was firſt preſented as a ſinner and renegade, in which character, after the example of Peter, he was made to deny Chriſt. This denial, he ſuggeſts, was a ſort of pantomime in which the novice expreſſed his reprobate ſtate by ſpitting on the croſs; after which he was ſtripped of his profane clothing, received, through the kiſs of the order, into a higher ſtate of faith, and clothed with the garb of its holineſs. If this were the caſe, the true meaning of the performance muſt have been very ſoon forgotten.

This was eſpecially the caſe with the kiſs. According to the

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cantatus, neſciens ſibi ipſi conſulere, cum comminarentur eidem graviter niſi hoc faceret. *Procès*, i, 291.

[1] Preceptor reſpondit ei quod oportebat eum abnegare, quia juraverat obedire præceptis ſuis; et teſtis abnegavit ore, ſicut dixit, et non corde; et hoc fecit cum magno dolore, et voluiſſet, ſicut dixit, tunc fuiſſe extra in libertate ſua cum uno ſolo brachio, quia faciebat contra conſcientiam ſuam. *Procès*, i, 302.

[2] Adjiciens ſe cum magna cordis amaritudine hoc feciſſe, et quod tunc magis voluiſſet habuiſſe crura fracta, quam facere prædicta, et fuit per aliquod ſpatium, ſicut dixit, reluctans priuſquam hoc faceret. *Procès*, i, 307.

articles of accuſation, one of the ceremonies of initation required the novice to kiſs the receiver on the mouth, on the *anus*, or the end of the ſpine, on the navel, and on the *virga virilis*.[1] The laſt is not mentioned in the examinations, but the others are deſcribed by ſo many of the witneſſes that we cannot doubt of their truth. From the depoſitions of many of the templars examined, it would appear that the uſual order was to kiſs the receptor firſt *in ano*, next on the navel, and then on the mouth.[2] The firſt of theſe was an act which would, of courſe, be repulſive to moſt people, and the practice aroſe gradually of only kiſſing the end of the ſpine, or, as it was called in mediæval Latin, *in anca*. Bertrand de Somorens, of the dioceſe of Amiens, deſcribing a reception at which more than one new member was admitted, ſays that the receiver next told them that they muſt kiſs him *in ano;* but, inſtead of kiſſing him there, they lifted up his clothes and kiſſed him on the ſpine.[3] The receptor, it appears, had the power of remitting this kiſs when he judged there was a ſufficient reaſon. Etienne de Dijon, a preſbyter of the dioceſe of Langres, ſaid that, when he was admitted into the order, the preceptor told him that he ought, "according to the obſervances of the order," to kiſs his receiver *in ano*, but that in conſideration of his being a preſbyter, he would ſpare him and remit this kiſs.[4] Pierre de Grumenil, alſo a preſbyter, when called

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[1] Item, quod in receptione fratrum dicti ordinis, vel circa, interdum recipiens et receptus aliquando ſe deoſculabantur in ore, in umbilico ſeu in ventre nudo, et in ano ſeu ſpina dorſi . . . . aliquando in virga virili. *Procès*, i, 91.

[2] See the *Procès*, ii, 286, 362, 364.

[3] Deinde præcepit eis quod oſcularentur eum in ano; ipſi tamen non fuerunt eum inibi oſculati, ſed, elevatis pannis, prædictum receptorem fuerunt oſculati in ſpina dorſi nuda, et hoc fecerunt, quia dixit eis quod erat de punctis ordinis. *Procès*, ii, 60. Another ſaid, on another occaſion, Præcepit etiam dictus receptor eis, quod oſcularentur eum in ano et in umbilico, et ipſi oſculati fuerunt in anca et umbilico ſuper carnem nudam. *Ib.* ii, 159.

[4] Item dixit quod, prædictis peractis, dictus præceptor dixit ei quod ſecundum ob-

upon to perform this act, refuſed, and was allowed to kiſs his receiver on the navel only.[1] A preſbyter named Ado de Dompierre was excuſed for the ſame reaſon,[2] as well as many others. Another templar, named Pierre de Lanhiac, ſaid that, at his reception into the order, his receptor told him that he muſt kiſs him *in ano*, becauſe that was one of the points of the order, but that, at the earneſt ſupplication of his uncle, who was preſent, and muſt therefore have been a knight of the order, he obtained a remiſſion of this kiſs.[3]

Another charge againſt the templars was ſtill more diſguſting. It was ſaid that they proſcribed all intercourſe with women, and one of the men examined ſtated, which was alſo confeſſed by others, that his receptor told him that, from that hour, he was never to enter a houſe in which a woman lay in labour, nor to take part as godfather at the baptiſm of any child,[4] but he added that he had broken his oath, for he had aſſiſted at the baptiſm of ſeveral children while ſtill in the order, which he had left about a year before the ſeizure of the templars, for the love of a woman of whom he had become enamoured. On the other hand, thoſe who replied to the interrogatory of the king's officers in this proceſs, were all but unanimous in the avowal that on entering the order they received

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ſervantias ordinis eorum recepti debebant oſculari in ano receptores, quia tamen idem teſtis erat preſbyter, parcebat ei et remittebat ſibi dictum oſculum. *Procès*, i, 302.

[1] Deinde præcepit quod oſcularetur eum in ano, et cum ipſe teſtis nollet hoc facere, præcepit quod oſcularetur eum ſaltem in umbilico ſuper carnem nudam, et fuit eum ibi oſculatus. *Procès*, ii, 24.

[2] *Procès*, i, 307.

[3] Poſt quæ dixit eidem quod ſecundum dicta puncta debebat eum oſculari in ano, et præcepit quod ibi oſcularetur eum, ſed, avunculo ipſius teſtis flexis genibus inſtante, remiſit ei oſculum memoratum. *Procès*, ii, 2.

[4] Dixit etiam quod ab illa hora in antea non intraret domum in qua aliqua mulier jaceret in puerperio, nec ſuſciperet aliquem nec teneret in ſacro fonte. *Procès*, i, 255.

the permiſſion to commit ſodomy amongſt themſelves. Two or three profeſſed not to have underſtood this injunction in a bad ſenſe, but to have ſuppoſed that it only meant that, when the brethren were ſhort of beds, each was to be ready to lend half his bed to his fellow.[1] One of them, named Gillet de Encraye, ſaid that he at firſt ſuppoſed it to be meant innocently, but that his receptor immediately undeceived him, by repeating it in leſs covert terms, at which he was himſelf ſo horrified that he wiſhed himſelf far away from the chapel in which the ceremony took place.[2] A great number of templars ſtated that, after the kiſſes of initiation, they were informed that if they felt moved by natural heat, they might call any one of the brethren to their relief,and that they ought to relieve their brethren when appealed to under the ſame circumſtances.[3] This appears to have been the moſt common form of the injunction. In one or two inſtances the receiver is deſcribed as adding that this was an act of contempt towards the other ſex, which may perhaps be conſidered as ſhowing that the ceremony was derived from ſome of the myſteries of the ſtrange ſects which appeared in the earlier ages of Chriſtianity. Jean de St. Loup, who held the office of maſter of the houſe of templars at Soiſiac, ſaid that, on his reception into the order, he received the injunction

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1 Poſt quæ immediate præcepit idem frater P. ipſi teſti quod ſi aliquis frater dicti ordinis vellet jacere ſecum, non deberet recuſare. Ipſe tamen teſtis, ut dixit, non intellexit quod hoc diceret ut jacentes inſimul aliquod peccatum committeretur, ſed, ſi deficeret lectus alteri, quod reciperet eum in lecto ſuo honeſto. *Procès*, i, 262. See again, i. 568.

2 Sed dictus frater Johannes ſubjunxit et declaravit quod carnaliter poterant commiſceri, de quo ipſe teſtis fuit multum turbatus, ut dixit, et multum deſideravit, ut dixit, quod tunc eſſet extra portam dictæ capellæ. *Procès*, i, 250.

3 Quo facto, dixit ſibi recipiens quod ſi aliquis calor naturalis moveret eum ad libidinem exercendam, faceret ſecum jacere unum de fratribus ſuis et haberet rem cum eo, et permitteret hoc idem ſimiliter ſibi fieri ab aliis fratribus. *Procès*, ii, 284. Conf. pp. 287, 288.

not to have intercourſe with women, but, if he could not perſevere in continence, he might have the ſame intercourſe with men ;[1] and others were told that it would "be better to ſatisfy their luſt among themſelves, whereby the order would eſcape evil report, than if they went to women."[2] But although the almoſt unanimity of the confeſſions leave hardly room for a doubt that ſuch injunctions were given, yet on the other hand they are equally unanimous in denying that theſe injunctions were carried into practice. Almoſt every templar, as the queſtions were put to him, after admitting that he was told that he might indulge in ſuch vice with the other brethren, aſſerted that he had never done this, and that he had never been aſked to do ſo by any of them. Theobald de Taverniac, whoſe name tells us that he came from the ſouth, denied indignantly the exiſtence of ſuch a vice among their order, but in terms which themſelves told not very much in favour of the morality of the templars in other reſpects. He ſaid that, "as to the crime of ſodomy," he believed the charge to be totally untrue, "becauſe they could have very handſome and elegant women when they liked, and that they did have them frequently when they were rich and powerful enough to afford it, and that on this account he and other brothers of the order were removed from their houſes, as he ſaid."[3] We have an implied acknowledgment that the templars did not entirely

[1] Dixit etiam per juramentum ſuum quod fuit ſibi injunctum per eos quod non haberet rem cum mulieribus, ſed, ſi continere non poſſet, commiſceret ſe carnaliter cum hominibus. *Procès*, 287. Conf. ii, 288, 294, etc.

[2] Poſtea unus prædictorum ſervientium dixit eis quod, ſi haberent calorem et motus carnales, poterant ad invicem carnaliter commiſceri, ſi volebant, quia melius erat quod hoc facerent inter ſe, ne ordo vituperaretur, quam ſi accederent ad mulieres. *Procès*, i, 386.

[3] De crimine ſodomitico, reſpondit ſe nihil ſcire, nec credere contenta in ipſis articulis eſſe vera, quia poterant habere mulieres pulchras et bene comptas, et frequenter eas habebant, cum eſſent divites et potentes, et ex hoc ipſe et alii fratres ipſius ordinis amoti fuerant a ſuis domibus, ut dixit. *Procès*, i, 326.

neglect the other ſex in a ſtatement quoted by Du Puy that, if a child were born from the intercourſe between a templar and a virgin, they roaſted it, and made an unguent of its fat, with which they anointed their idol.[1] Thoſe who confeſſed to the exiſtence of the vice were ſo few, and their evidence ſo indefinite or indirect, that they are deſerving of no conſideration. One had heard that ſome brethren beyond the ſea had committed unnatural vices.[2] Another, Hugh de Faure, had heard ſay that two brothers of the order, dwelling in the Chateau Pelerin, had been charged with ſodomy; that, when this reached the ears of the maſter, he gave orders for their arreſt, and that one had been killed in the attempt to eſcape, while the other was taken and impriſoned for life.[3] Peter Brocart, a templar of Paris, declared that one of the order, one night, called him and committed ſodomy with him; adding that he had not refuſed, becauſe he conſidered himſelf bound to obedience by the rules of the order.[4] The evidence is decidedly ſtrong againſt the prevalence of ſuch a vice among the templars, and the alleged permiſſion was perhaps a mere form of words, which concealed ſome occult meaning unknown to the maſs of the templars themſelves. We are not inclined to reject altogether the theory of the baron von Hammer-Pürgſtall, that the templars had adopted ſome of the myſterious tenets of the eaſtern Gnoſtics.

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[1] Præterea, ſi ex templarii coitu infans ex puella virgine naſcebatur, hunc igni torrebant; exque eliquata inde pinguedine ſuum ſimulachrum decoris gratia ungebant. Robert Gaguin, ap. Du Puy, *Hiſtoire de l'Ordre Militaire des Templiers*, p. 24.

[2] *Procès*, ii, 213.

[3] Audivit dici quod duo fratres ordinis, commorantes in Caſtro Peregrini, erant de crimine ſodomitico diffamati; et cum hoc perveniſſet ad magiſtrum, mandavit eos capi, et unus illorum fuit interfectus cum fugeret, et alter fuit perpetuo carceri mancipatus. *Procès*, ii, 223.

[4] *Procès*, ii, 294.

In regard to the ſecret idolatry with which the templars were charged, it is a ſubject involved in great obſcurity. The cat is but little ſpoken of in the depoſitions. Some Italian knights confeſſed that they had been preſent at a ſecret chapter of twelve knights held at Brindiſi, when a grey cat ſuddenly appeared amongſt them, and they worſhipped it. At Niſmes, ſome templars declared that they had been preſent at a chapter at Montpellier, when the demon appeared to them in the form of a cat, and promiſed them worldly proſperity, but they appear to have been viſionaries not to be truſted, for they ſtated that at the ſame time devils appeared in the ſhape of women. An Engliſh templar, examined in London, depoſed that in England they did not adore the cat, or the idol, but that he had heard it poſitively ſtated that the cat and the idol were worſhipped by the templars in parts beyond ſea.[1] A ſolitary Frenchman, examined in Paris, Gillet de Encreyo, ſpoke of the cat, and ſaid that he had heard, but had forgotten who were his informants, and did not believe them, that beyond ſea a certain cat had appeared to the templars in their battles.[2] The cat belongs to a lower claſs of popular ſuperſtitions, perhaps, than that of the templars.

This, however, was not the caſe with the idol, which was generally deſcribed as the figure of a human head, and appears only to have been ſhown in the more ſecret chapter meetings on particular occaſions. Many of the templars examined before the commiſſioners, ſaid that they had heard this idol head ſpoken of as exiſting in the order, and others depoſed to having ſeen it. It was generally deſcribed as being about the natural ſize of a man's head,

[1] Reſpondit quod in Anglia non adorant catum nec idolum, quod ipſe ſciat; ſed audivit bene dici, quod adorant catum et idolum in partibus tranſmarinis. Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. ii, p. 384.

[2] Audivit tamen ab aliquibus dici, de quibus non recordatur, quod quidam catus apparebat ultra mare in præliis eorum, quod tamen non credit. *Procès*, i, 251.

with a very fierce-looking face and a beard, the latter ſometimes white. Different witneſſes varied as to the material of which it was made, and, indeed, in various other particulars, which lead us to ſuppoſe that each houſe of the templars, where the idol exiſted, had its own head, and that they varied in form. They agreed generally that this head was an object of worſhip. One templar depoſed that he was preſent at a chapter of the order in Paris, when the head was brought in, but he was unable to deſcribe it at all, for, when he ſaw it, he was ſo ſtruck with terror that he hardly knew where he was.[1] Another, Ralph de Gyſi, who held the office of receptor for the province of Champagne, ſaid that he had ſeen the head in many chapters; that, when it was introduced, all preſent threw themſelves on the ground and adored it: and when aſked to deſcribe it, he ſaid, on his oath, that its countenance was ſo terrible, that it ſeemed to him to be the figure of a demon—uſing the French word *un mauſé*, and that as often as he ſaw it, ſo great a fear took poſſeſſion of him, that he could hardly look upon it without fear and trembling.[2] Jean Taylafer ſaid that, at his reception into the order, his attention was directed to a head upon the altar in the chapel, which he was told he muſt worſhip; he deſcribed it as of the natural ſize of a man's head, but could not deſcribe it more particularly, except that he thought it was of a reddiſh colour.[3] Raynerus de Larchent ſaw the head twice in a chapter, eſpecially once in Paris, where it had a beard, and they adored and kiſſed it,

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[1] Ipſe teſtis, viſo dicto capite, fuit adeo perterritus quod quaſi neſciret ubi eſſet. *Procès*, i, 399.

[2] Interrogatus cujus figuræ eſt, dixit per juramentum ſuum quod ita eſt terribilis figuræ et aſpectus quod videbatur ſibi quod eſſet figura cujuſdam dæmonis, dicens Gallice *d'un mauſé*, et quod quocienſcunque videbat eum tantus timor eum invadebat, quod vix poterat illud reſpicere niſi cum maximo timore et tremore. *Procès*, ii, 364.

[3] *Procès*, i, 190.

and called it their ſaviour.[1] Guillermus de Herbaleyo ſaw the head with its beard, at two chapters. He thought it was of ſilver gilt, and wood inſide. He "ſaw the brethern adore it, and he went through the form of adoring it himſelf, but he did it not in his heart."[2] According to one witneſs, Deodatus Jaffet, a knight from the ſouth of France who had been received at Pedenat, the receptor ſhowed him a head, or idol, which appeared to have three faces, and ſaid to him, "You muſt adore this as your ſaviour, and the ſaviour of the order of the temple," and he added that he was made to worſhip the idol, ſaying, "Bleſſed be he who ſhall ſave my ſoul!" Another deponent gave a very ſimilar account. Another knight of the order, Hugo de Paraudo, ſaid that, in a chapter at Montpellier, he had both ſeen, held, and felt, the idol, or head, and that he and the other brothers adored it, but he, like the others, pleaded that he did not adore it in his heart. He deſcribed it as ſupported on four feet, two before and two behind.[3] Guillaume de Arrablay, the king's almoner (*eleemoſynarius regius*), ſaid that in the chapter at which he was received, a head made of ſilver was placed on the altar, and adored by thoſe who formed the chapter; he was told that it was the head of one of the eleven thouſand virgins, and had always believed this to be the caſe, until after the arreſt of the order, when, hearing all that was ſaid on the matter, he "ſuſpected" that it was the idol; and he adds in his depoſition that it ſeemed to him to have two faces, a terrible look, and a ſilver beard.[4] It does not appear very clear why he ſhould have taken a head with two faces, a fierce look, and a beard,

[1] Quod adorant, oſculantur, et vocant ſalvatorem ſuum. *Procès*, ii, 279.

[2] Et vidit fratres adorare illud; et ipſe fingebat illud adorare, ſed nunquam fecit corde, ut dixit. *Procès*, ii, 300.

[3] *Procès*, ii, 363.

[4] Videtur ſibi quod haberet duas facies, et quod eſſet terribilis aſpectu, et quod haberet barbam argenteam. *Procès*, i, 502.

for one of the eleven thouſand virgins, but this is, perhaps, partly explained by the depoſition of another witneſs, Guillaume Pidoye, who had the charge of the relics, &c, belonging to the Temple in Paris, and who produced a head of ſilver gilt, having a woman's face, and a ſmall ſkull, reſembling that of a woman, inſide, which was ſaid to be that of one of the eleven thouſand virgins. At the ſame time another head was brought forward, having a beard, and ſuppoſed to be that of the idol.[1] Both theſe witneſſes had no doubt confounded two things. Pierre Garald, of Murſac, another witneſs, ſaid that after he had denied Chriſt and ſpitten on the croſs, the receptor drew from his boſom a certain ſmall image of braſs or gold, which appeared to repreſent the figure of a woman, and told him that "he muſt believe in it, and have faith in it, and that it would be well for him."[2] Here the idol appears in the form of a ſtatuette. There was alſo another account of the idol, which perhaps refers to ſome further object of ſuperſtition among the templars. According to one deponent, it was an old ſkin embalmed, with bright carbuncles for eyes, which ſhone like the light of heaven. Others ſaid that it was the ſkin of a man, but agreed with the others in regard to the carbuncles.[3] In England a minorite friar depoſed that an Engliſh knight of the Temple had aſſured him that the templars had four principal idols in this country, one in the ſacriſty of the Temple in London, another at Briſtelham, a third at Brueria (Bruern in Lincolnſhire), and the fourth at ſome place beyond the Humber.[4]

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[1] *Procès*, ii, 218.

[2] Item, dixit quod poſt prædicta dictus receptor, extrahens de ſinu ſuo quamdam parvam imaginem de leone (*apparently a miſreading*) vel de auro, quæ videbatur habere effigiem muliebrem, dixit ei quod crederet in eam, et haberet in ea fiduciam, et bene ſibi eſſet. *Procès*, ii, 212.

[3] Du Puy, *Hiſt. des Templ.*, pp. 22, 24.

[4] Wilkins, *Concil.*, vol. ii, p. 363.

Another piece of information relating to this "idol," which has been the ſubject of conſiderable diſcuſſion among modern writers, was elicited from the examination of ſome knights from the ſouth. Gauſerand de Montpeſant, a knight of Provence, ſaid that their ſuperior ſhowed him an idol made in the form of Baffomet;[1] another, named Raymond Rubei, deſcribed it as a wooden head, on which the figure of Baphomet was painted, and adds, "that he worſhipped it by kiſſing its feet, and exclaiming 'Yalla,' which was," he ſays, "*verbum Saracenorum*," a word taken from the Saracens.[2] A templar of Florence declared that, in the ſecret chapters of the order, one brother ſaid to the other, ſhowing the idol, "Adore this head—this head is your god and your Mahomet." The word Mahomet was uſed commonly in the middle ages as a general term for an idol or falſe god; but ſome writers have ſuggeſted that Baphomet is itſelf a mere corruption of Mahomet, and ſuppoſe that the templars had ſecretly embraced Mahometaniſm. A much more remarkable explanation of this word has, however, been propoſed, which is, at the leaſt, worthy of very great conſideration, eſpecially as it comes from ſo diſtinguiſhed an orientaliſt and ſcholar as the late baron Joſeph von Hammer-Pürgſtall. It aroſe partly from the compariſon of a number of objects of art, ornamented with figures, and belonging apparently to the thirteenth century. Theſe objects conſiſt chiefly of ſmall images, or ſtatuettes, coffers, and cups.[3]

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[1] Que leur ſupérieur lui montra une idole barbue faite *in figuram Baffometi.* Du Puy, *Hiſt. des Templiers*, p. 216.

[2] Du Puy, *Hiſt. des Templiers*, p. 21.

[3] Von Hammer publiſhed his diſcoveries and opinions in 1816, in an elaborate eſſay in the ſixth volume of the *Fundgruben des Orients*, entitled, *Myſterium Baphometis revelatum, ſeu fratres militiæ Templi, qua gnoſtici et quidem ophiani apoſtaſiæ, idoloduliæ et impuritatis convicti per ipſa eorum monumenta.* In 1832, he publiſhed a ſupplementary eſſay under the title *Mémoire ſur deux coffrets gnoſtiques du Moyen Age, du Cabinet de M. le Duc de Blacas, par M. Joſeph de Hammer.*

Von Hammer has deſcribed, and given engravings of, twenty-four ſuch images, which it muſt be acknowledged anſwer very well to the deſcriptions of their "idol" given by the templars in their examinations, except only that the templars uſually ſpeak of them as of the ſize of life, and as being merely heads. Moſt of them have beards, and tolerably fierce countenances. Among thoſe given by Von Hammer are ſeven which preſent only a head, and two with two faces, backwards and forwards, as deſcribed in ſome of the depoſitions. Theſe two appear to be intended for female heads. Altogether Von Hammer has deſcribed fifteen cups and goblets, but a much ſmaller number of coffers. Both cups and coffers are ornamented with extremely curious figures, repreſenting a continuous ſcene, apparently religious ceremonies of ſome kind or other, but certainly of an obſcene character, all the perſons engaged in which are repreſented naked. It is not a part of our ſubject to enter into a detailed examination of theſe myſteries. The moſt intereſting of the coffers deſcribed by Von Hammer, which was preſerved in the private muſeum of the duc de Blacas, is of calcarous ſtone, nine inches long by ſeven broad, and four and a half deep, with a lid about two inches thick. It was found in Burgundy. On the lid is ſculptured a figure, naked, with a head-dreſs reſembling that given to Cybele in ancient monuments, holding up a chain with each hand, and ſurrounded with various ſymbols, the ſun and moon above, the ſtar and the pentacle below, and under the feet a human ſkull.[1] The chains are explained by Von Hammer as repreſenting the chains of æons of the Gnoſtics. On the four ſides of the coffer we ſee a ſeries of figures engaged in the performance of various ceremonies, which are not eaſily explained, but which Von Hammer conſiders as belonging to the rites of the Gnoſtics and Ophians. The offering of a calf figures prominently among theſe

[1] See our plate xxxviii.

rites, a worſhip which is ſaid ſtill to exiſt among the Noſſarii, or Neſſarenes, the Druſes, and other ſects in the East. In the middle of the ſcene on one ſide, a human ſkull is ſeen, raiſed upon a pole. On another ſide an androgynous figure is repreſented as the object of worſhip of two candidates for initiation, who wear maſks apparently of a cat, and whoſe form of adoration reminds us of the kiſs enacted at the initiation of the templars.[1] This group reminds us, too, of the pictures of the orgies in the worſhip of Priapus, as repreſented on Roman monuments. The ſecond of the coffers in the cabinet of the duc de Blacas was found in Tuſcany, and is rather larger than the one just deſcribed, but made of the ſame material, though of a finer grain. The lid of this coffer is loſt, but the ſides are covered with ſculpture of a ſimilar character. A large goblet, or bowl, of marble, in the imperial muſeum at Vienna, is ſurrounded by a ſeries of figures of ſimilar character, which are engraved by Von Hammer, who ſees in one group of men (who are furniſhed in the original with prominent phalli) and ſerpents, a direct alluſion to Ophite rites. Next after theſe comes a group which we have reproduced in our plate,[2] repreſenting a ſtrange figure ſeated upon an eagle, and accompanied with two of the ſymbols repreſented on the coffer found in Burgundy, the ſun and moon. The two ſymbols below are conſidered by Von Hammer to repreſent, according to the rude mediæval notions of its form, the womb, or matrix; the fecundating organ is penetrating the one, while the infant is emerging from the other. The laſt figure in this ſeries, which we have alſo copied,[3] is identical with that on the lid of the coffer found in Burgundy, but it is diſtinctly repreſented as androgynous. We have exactly the ſame figure on another coffer, in the Vienna muſeum,[4] with ſome of the ſame ſymbols, the ſtar, pentacle,

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[1] Plate xxxix, fig. 1. [2] Plate xxxix, fig. 2. [3] Plate xxxix, fig. 3.
[4] Plate xxxix, fig. 4.

and human ſkull. Perhaps, in this laſt, the beard is intended to ſhow that the figure muſt be taken as androgynous.

On an impartial compariſon we can hardly doubt that theſe curious objects,—images, coffers, cups, and bowls,—have been intended for uſe in ſome ſecret and myſterious rites, and the arguments by which Von Hammer attempts to ſhow that they belonged to the templars ſeem at leaſt to be very plauſible. Several of the objects repreſented upon them, even the ſkull, are alluded to in ſome of the confeſſions of the templars, and theſe evidently only confeſſed a part of what they knew, or otherwiſe they were very imperfectly acquainted with the ſecrets of their order. Perhaps the moſt ſecret doctrines and rites were only communicated fully to a ſmall number. There is, however, another circumſtance connected with theſe objects which appears to furniſh an almoſt irreſiſtible confirmation of Von Hammer's theory. Moſt of them bear inſcriptions, written in Arabic, Greek, and Roman characters. The inſcriptions on the images appear to be merely proper names, probably thoſe of their poſſeſſors. But with the coffers and bowls the caſe is different, for they contain a nearly uniform inſcription in Arabic characters, which, according to the interpretation given by Von Hammer, contains a religious formula. The Arabic characters, he ſays, have been copied by a European, and not very ſkilful, carver, who did not underſtand them, from an Eaſtern original, and the inſcriptions contain corruptions and errors which either aroſe from this circumſtance, or, as Von Hammer ſuggeſts, may have been introduced deſignedly, for the purpoſe of concealing the meaning from the uninitiated. A good example of this inſcription ſurrounds the lid of the coffer found in Burgundy, and is interpreted as follows by Von Hammer, who regards it as a ſort of parody on the *Cantate laudes Domini.* In fact, the word under the feet of the figure, between them and the ſkull, is nothing more than the Latin *cantate* expreſſed in Arabic letters. The words with

which this *Cantate* begins are written above the head of the figure, and are read by Von Hammer as *Jah la Sidna*, which is more correctly *Jella Sidna*, i. e. O God, our Lord! The formula itſelf, to which this is an introduction, commences on the right ſide, and the firſt part of it reads *Houvè Mete Zonar feſeba* (or *ſebaa*) *B. Mounkir teaala tiz.* There is no ſuch word in Arabic as *mete*, and Von Hammer conſiders it to be ſimply the Greek word μῆτις, wiſdom, a perſonification in what we may perhaps call the Gnoſtic mythology anſwering to the Sophia of the Ophianites. He conſiders that the name Baphomet is derived from the Greek words βαφὴ μήτεος, i. e. the baptiſm of Metis, and that in its application it is equivalent with the name Mete itſelf. He has further ſhown, we think concluſively, that Baphomet, inſtead of being a corruption of Mahomet, was a name known among the Gnoſtic ſects in the Eaſt. *Zonar* is not an Arabic word, and is perhaps only a corruption or error of the ſculptor, but Von Hammer thought it meant a girdle, and that it alluded to the myſterious girdle of the templars, of which ſo much is ſaid in their examinations. The letter *B* is ſuppoſed by Von Hammer to ſtand here for the name Baphomet, or for that of Barbalo, one of the moſt important perſonages in the Gnoſtic mythology. *Mounkir* is the Arabic word for a perſon who denies the orthodox faith. The reſt of the formula is given on the other ſide of the figure, but as the inſcription here preſents ſeveral corruptions, we will give Von Hammer's tranſlation (in Latin) of the more correct copy of the formula inſcribed on the bowl or goblet preſerved in the muſeum at Vienna. In the Vienna bowl, the formula of faith is written on a ſort of large placard, which is held up to view by a figure apparently intended for another repreſentation of Mete or Baphomet. Von Hammer tranſlates it:—

"Exaltetur Mete germinans, ſtirps noſtra ego et ſeptem fuere, tu renegans reditus ὠρωκτὸς fis."

This ſtill is, it muſt be confeſſed, rather myſterious, and, in fact, moſt of theſe copies of the formula of faith are more or leſs defective, but, from a compariſon of them, the general form and meaning of the whole is made perfectly clear. This may be tranſlated, "Let Mete be exalted, who cauſes things to bud and bloſſom! he is our root; it (the root) is one and ſeven; abjure (the faith), and abandon thyſelf to all pleaſures." The number ſeven is ſaid to refer to the ſeven archons of the Gnoſtic creed.

There are certainly ſeveral points in this formula which preſent at leaſt a ſingular coincidence with the ſtatements made in the examinations of the templars. In the firſt place the invocation which precedes the formula, Yalla (Jah la), agrees exactly with the statement of Raymond Rubei, one of the Provencal templars that when the ſuperior exhibited the idol, or figure of Baphomet, he kiſſed it and exclaimed "Yalla!" which he calls "a word of the Saracens," i. e. Arabic.[1] It is evident that, in this caſe, the witneſs not only knew the word, but that he knew to what language it belonged. Again, the epithet *germinans*, applied to Mete, or Baphomet, is in accord with the ſtatement in the formal liſt of articles of accuſation againſt the templars, that they worſhipped their idol becauſe "it made the trees to flouriſh and the earth to germinate."[2] The abjuration of the formula on the monuments ſeems to be identical with the denial in the initiation of novices to the order of the Temple; and it may be added, that the cloſing words of the formula involve in the original an idea more obſcene than is expreſſed in the tranſlation, an alluſion to the unnatural vice in which the templars are ſtated to have received permiſſion to indulge. There is another curious ſtatement in the examinations which ſeems to point directly to our

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[1] Du Puy, *Hiſt. des Templiers*, p. 94.

[2] Item, quod facit arbores florere. Item, quod terram germinare. Michelet, *Procès des Templiers*, i, 92.

images and coffers — one of the English witneſſes under examination, named John de Donington, who had left the order and become a friar at Saliſbury, ſaid that an old templar had aſſured him that "ſome templars carried ſuch idols in their coffers."[1] They ſeem to have been treaſured up for the ſame reaſon as the mandrake, for one article in the articles againſt the templars is, that they worſhipped their idol becauſe "it could make them rich, and that it had brought all their great wealth to the order."[2]

The two other claſſes of what the Baron Von Hammer ſuppoſed to be relics of the ſecret worſhip of the templars, appear to us to be much leſs ſatisfactorily explained. Theſe are ſculptures on old churches, and coins or medals. Such ſculptures are found, acording to Von Hammer, on the churches of Schöngraber, Waltendorf, and Bercktoldorf, in Auſtria; in that of Deutſchaltenburg, and in the ruins of that of Poſtyén, in Hungary; and in thoſe of Murau, Prague, and Egra, in Bohemia. To theſe examples we are to add the ſculptures of the church of Montmorillon, in Poitou, ſome of which have been engraved by Montfaucon,[3] and thoſe of the church of Ste. Croix, in Bordeaux. We have already[4] remarked the rather frequent prevalence of ſubjects more or leſs obſcene in the ſculptures which ornament early churches, and ſuggeſted that they may be explained in ſome degree by the tone given to ſociety by the exiſtence of this priapic worſhip; but we are not inclined to agree with Von Hammer's explanation of them, or to think that they have any connection with the templars. We can eaſily underſtand the exiſtence of ſuch direct alluſions on coffers or

[1] Item dixit idem veteranus eidem fratri jurato, quod aliqui templarii portant talia idola in coffris ſuis. Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii, 363.

[2] Item, quod divites facere. Item, quod omnes divitias ordinis dabat eis. Michelet, *Procès*, i. 92.

[3] Montfaucon, *Antiquité Expliquée*, Suppl. tom. ii, plate 59.

[4] See before, p. 198.

other objects intended to be concealed, or at leaſt kept in private; but it is hardly probable that men who held opinions and practiſed rites the very rumour of which was then ſo full of danger, would proclaim them publicly on the walls of their buildings, for the wall of a church was then, perhaps, the moſt effectual medium of publication. The queſtion of the ſuppoſed templar medals is very obſcure. Von Hammer has engraved a certain number of theſe objects, which preſent various ſingular ſubjects on the obverſe, ſometimes with a croſs on the reverſe, and ſometimes bracteate. Antiquaries have given the name of abbey tokens to a rather numerous claſs of ſuch medals, the uſe of which is ſtill very uncertain, although there appears to be little doubt of its being of a religious character. Some have ſuppoſed that they were diſtributed to thoſe who attended at certain ſacraments or rites of the Church, who could thus, when called up, prove by the number of their tokens, the greater or leſs regularity of their attendance. Whether this were the caſe or not, it is certain that the burleſque and other ſocieties of the middle ages, ſuch as the feaſt of fools, parodied theſe "tokens," and had burleſque medals, in lead and ſometimes in other metals, which were perhaps uſed for a ſimilar purpoſe. We have already ſpoken more than once of obſcene medals, and have engraved ſpecimens of them, which were perhaps uſed in ſecret ſocieties derived from, or founded upon, the ancient phallic worſhip. It is not at all improbable that the templars may have employed ſimilar medals, and that thoſe would contain alluſions to the rites in which they were employed. The medals publiſhed by Von Hammer are ſaid to have been found chiefly on the ſites of ſettlements of the order of the Temple. However, the compariſon of facts ſtated in the confeſſions of many of the templars, as preſerved in the official reports, with the images and ſculptured cups and coffers given by Von Hammer-Pürgſtall, lead to the concluſion that there is truth in the explanation he gives of the

latter, and that the templars, or at leaſt ſome of them, had ſecretly adopted a form of the rites of Gnoſticiſm, which was itſelf founded upon the phallic worſhip of the ancients. An Engliſh templar, Stephen de Staplebridge, acknowledged that "there were two 'profeſſions' in the order of the Temple, the firſt lawful and good, the ſecond contrary to the faith."[1] He had been admitted to the firſt of theſe when he firſt entered the order, eleven years before the time of his examination, but he was only initiated into the ſecond or inner myſteries about a year afterwards; and he gives almoſt a pictureſque deſcription of this ſecond initiation, which occurred in a chapter held at 'Dineſlee' in Herefordſhire. Another Engliſh templar, Thomas de Tocci, ſaid that the errors had been brought into England by a French knight of high poſition in the order.[2]

We have thus ſeen in how many various forms the old phallic, or priapic, worſhip preſented itſelf in the middle ages, and how pertinaciouſly it held its ground through all the changes and developments of ſociety, until at length we find all the circumſtances of the ancient priapic orgies, as well as the mediæval additions, combined in that great and extenſive ſuperſtition—witchcraft. At all times the initiated were believed to have obtained thereby powers which were not poſſeſſed by the uninitiated, and they only were ſuppoſed to know the proper forms of invocation of the deities who were the objects of their worſhip, which deities the Chriſtian teachers invariably transformed into devils. The vows which the people of antiquity addreſſed to Priapus, thoſe of the middle ages addreſſed to Satan. The witches' "Sabbath" was ſimply the laſt form which the Priapeia and Liberalia aſſumed in Weſtern Europe, and

[1] Quod duæ ſunt profeſſiones in ordine templi, prima licita et bona, et ſecunda eſt contra fidem. Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii, 383.

[2] Wilkins, *Concil.*, ii, 387.

in its various details all the incidents of thoſe great and licentious orgies of the Romans were reproduced. The Sabbath of the witches does not appear to have formed a part of the Teutonic mythology, but we can trace it from the South through the countries in which the Roman element of ſociety predominated. The incidents of the Sabbath are diſtinctly traced in Italy as early as the beginning of the fifteenth century, and ſoon afterwards they are found in the ſouth of France. Towards the middle of that century an individual named Robinet de Vaulx, who had lived the life of a hermit in Burgundy, was arreſted, brought to a trial at Langres, and burnt. This man was a native of Artois; he ſtated that to his knowledge there were a great number of witches in that province, and he not only confeſſed that he had attended theſe nocturnal aſſemblies of the witches, but he gave the names of ſome inhabitants of Arras whom he had met there. At this time—it was in the year 1459 — the chapter general of the Jacobins, or friars preachers, was held at Langres, and among those who attended it was a Jacobin friar named Pierre de Brouſſart, who held the office of inquiſitor of the faith in the city of Arras, and who eagerly liſtened to the circumſtances of Robinet's confeſſion. Among the names mentioned by him as having been preſent at the witches' meetings, were thoſe of a proſtitute named Demiſelle, then living at Douai, and a man named Jehan Levite, but who was better known by the nickname of *Abbé de peu de ſens* (the abbot of little ſenſe). On Brouſſart's return to Arras, he cauſed both theſe perſons to be arreſted and brought to that city, where they were thrown into priſon. The latter, who was a painter, and a compoſer and ſinger of popular ſongs, had left Arras before Robinet de Vaulx had made his confeſſion, but he was traced to Abbeville, in Ponthieu, and captured there. Confeſſions were extorted from theſe perſons which compromiſed others, and a number of individuals were committed to priſon in conſequence. In the ſequel a certain number of them were burnt,

after they had been induced to unite in a ſtatement to the following effect. At this time, in this part of France at leaſt, the term Vauderie, or, as it was then written, Vaulderie, was applied to the practice or profeſſion of witchcraft. They ſaid that the place of meeting was commonly a fountain in the wood of Mofflaines, about a league diſtant from Arras, and that they ſometimes went thither on foot. The more uſual way of proceeding, however, according to their own account, was this—they took an ointment given to them by the devil, with which they annointed a wooden rod, at the ſame time rubbing the palms of their hands with it, and then, placing the rod between their legs, they were ſuddenly carried through the air to the place of aſſembly. They found there a multitude of people, of both ſexes, and of all eſtates and ranks, even wealthy burghers and nobles — and one of the perſons examined declared that he had ſeen there not only ordinary eccleſiaſtics, but biſhops and even cardinals. They found tables already ſpread, covered with all ſorts of meats, and abundance of wines. A devil preſided, uſually in the form of a goat, with the tail of an ape, and a human countenance. Each firſt did oblation and homage to him by offering him his or her ſoul, or, at leaſt ſome part of their body, and then, as a mark of adoration, kiſſed him on the poſteriors. All this time the worſhippers held burning torches in their hands. The abbot of little ſenſe, already mentioned, held the office of maſter of the ceremonies at theſe meetings, and it was his duty to ſee that the new-comers duly performed their homage. After this they trampled on the croſs, and ſpit upon it, in deſpite of Jeſus and of the Holy Trinity, and performed other profane acts. They then ſeated themſelves at the tables, and after they had eaten and drunk ſufficiently, they roſe and joined in a ſcene of promiſcuous intercourſe between the ſexes, in which the demon took part, aſſuming alternately the form of either ſex, according to that of his temporary partner. Other

wicked acts followed, and then the devil preached to them, and enjoined them especially not to go to church, or hear mass, or touch holy water, or perform any other of the duties of good Christians. After this sermon was ended, the meeting was dissolved, and they separated and returned to their several homes.[1]

The violence of these witch persecutions at Arras led to a reaction, which, however, was not lasting, and from this time to the end of the century, the fear of witchcraft spread over Italy, France, and Germany, and went on increasing in intensity. It was during this period that witchcraft, in the hands of the more zealous inquisitors, was gradually worked up into a great system, and books of considerable extent were compiled, containing accounts of the various practices of the witches, and directions for proceeding against them. One of the earliest of these writers was a Swiss friar, named John Nider, who held the office of inquisitor in Switzerland, and has devoted one book of his *Formicarium* to witchcraft as it existed in that country. He makes no allusion to the witches' Sabbath, which, therefore, appears then not to have been known among the Swiss. Early in 1489, Ulric Molitor published a treatise on the same subject, under the title of *De Pythonicis Mulieribus*, and in the same year, 1489, appeared the celebrated book, the *Malleus Maleficarum*, or Hammer of Witches, the work of the three inquisitors for Germany, the chief of whom was Jacob Sprenger. This work gives us a complete and very interesting account of witchcraft as it then existed as an article of belief in Germany. The authors discuss various questions connected with it, such as that of the mysterious transport of witches from one place to another, and they decide that this transport was real, and that they were carried bodily through the air. It is remarkable, how-

[1] The account of the witch trials at Arras was published in the supplementary additions to Monstrelet; but the original records of the proceedings have since been found and printed.

ever, that even the *Malleus Maleficarum* contains no direct allusion to the Sabbath, and we may conclude that even then this great priapic orgie did not form a part of the Germanic creed; it was no doubt brought in there amid the witchcraft mania of the sixteenth century. From the time of the publication of the *Malleus Maleficarum* until the beginning of the seventeenth century, through all parts of Western Europe, the number of books upon sorcery which issued from the press was immense; and we must not forget that a monarch of our own, king James I, shone among the writers on witchcraft.

Three quarters of a century nearly had passed since the time of the *Malleus*, when a Frenchman named Bodin, Latinised into Bodinus, published a rather bulky treatise which became from that time the text-book on witchcraft. The Sabbath is described in this book in all its completeness. It was usually held in a lonely place, and when possible on the summits of mountains or in the solitude of forests. When the witch prepared to attend it, she went to her bedroom, stripped herself naked, and anointed her body with an ointment made for that purpose. She next took a staff, which also in many cases she anointed, and, placing it between her legs and uttering a charm, she was carried through the air, in an incredibly short space of time, to the place of meeting. Bodin discusses learnedly the question whether the witches were really carried through the air corporeally or not, he decides it in the affirmative. The Sabbath itself was a great assemblage of witches, of both sexes, and of demons. It was a point of emulation with the visitors to bring new converts with them, and on their arrival they presented these to the demon who presided, and to whom they offered their adoration by the unclean kiss upon his posteriors. They next rendered an account of all the mischief they had perpetrated since the previous meeting, and received reward or reproof according to its amount. The devil, who usually took the form

of a goat, next diſtributed among them powders, unguents, and other articles to be employed in ſimilar evil doings in future. The worſhippers now made offerings to the devil, conſiſting of ſheep, or other articles, or, in ſome caſes, of a little bird only, or of a lock of the witches' hair, or of ſome other equally trifling object. They were then obliged to ſeal their denial of the Chriſtian faith by trampling on the croſs and blaſpheming the ſaints. The devil then, or in the courſe of the meeting, had ſexual intercourſe with the new witch, placed his mark upon ſome concealed part of her body, very commonly in her ſexual parts, and gave her a familiar or imp, who was to be at her bidding and aſſiſt in the perpetration of evil. All this was what may be called the buſineſs of the meeting, and when it was over, they all went to a great banquet, which was ſet out on tables, and which ſometimes conſiſted of ſumptuous viands, but more frequently of loathſome or unſubſtantial food, ſo that the gueſts often left the meeting as hungry as though they had taſted nothing. After the feaſt they all roſe from the table to dance, and a ſcene of wild and uproarious revelry followed. The uſual dance on this occaſion appears to have been the *carole* of the middle ages, which was no doubt the common dance of the peaſantry; a party, alternately a male and a female, held each other's hands in a circle, with this peculiarity that, whereas in ordinary life the dancers turned their faces inward into the circle, here they turned them outwards, ſo that their backs were towards the interior of the circle. It was pretended that this arrangement was deſigned to prevent them from ſeeing and recognizing each other; but others ſuppoſed that it was a mere caprice of the evil one, who wiſhed to do everything in a form contrary to that in which it was uſually done by Chriſtians. Other dances were introduced, of a more violent, and ſome of them of an obſcene, character. The ſongs, too, which were ſung in this orgie were either obſcene or vulgarly ridiculous. The muſic was often drawn from burleſque

inſtruments, ſuch as a ſtick or a bone for a flute, a horſe's ſkull for a lyre, the trunk of a tree for a drum, and a branch for a trumpet. As they became excited, they became more licentious, and at laſt they abandoned themſelves to indiſcriminate ſexual intercourſe, in which the demons played a very active part. The meeting ſeparated in time to allow the witches, by the ſame expeditious conveyance which brought them, to reach their homes before the cock crowed.[1]

Such is the account of the Sabbath, as deſcribed by Bodin; but we have reviewed it briefly in order to deſcribe this ſtrange ſcene from the much fuller and more curious narrative of another Frenchman, Pierre de Lancre. This man was a conſeiller du roi, or judge, in the parliament of Bordeaux, and was joined in 1609 with one of his colleagues in a commiſſion to proceed againſt persons accuſed of ſorcery in Labourd, a diſtrict in the Baſque provinces, then celebrated for its witches, and apparently for the low ſtate of morality among its inhabitants. It is a wild, and, in many parts, deſolate region, the inhabitants of which held to their ancient ſuperſtitions with great tenacity. De Lancre, after arguing learnedly on the nature and character of demons, diſcuſſes the queſtion why there were ſo many of them in the country of Labourd, and why the inhabitants of that diſtrict were ſo much addicted to ſorcery. The women of the country, he ſays, were naturally of a laſcivious temperament, which was ſhown even in their manner of dreſſing, for he deſcribes their head-dreſs as being ſingularly indecent, and deſcribes them as commonly expoſing their perſon very immodeſtly.[2] He adds, that the principal produce of this country conſiſted of

[1] The firſt edition of the work of Bodin, *De la Démonomanie des Sorciers*, was publiſhed at Paris, in 4to, in 1580. It went through many editions, and was tranſlated into Latin and other languages.

[2] Et pour le commun des femmes, en quelques lieux, voulant faire les martiales, elles portent certains tourions ou morrions indécens, et d'une forme ſi peu ſéante,

witches

apples, and argues thence, it is not very apparent why, that the women partook of the character of Eve, and yielded more eaſily to temptation than thoſe of other countries. After having ſpent four months in dealing out rather ſeverely what was then called "juſtice" to theſe ignorant people, the two commiſſioners returned to Bordeaux, and there De Lancre, deeply ſtruck with what he had ſeen and heard, betook himſelf to the ſtudy of witchcraft, and in due time produced his great work on the ſubject, to which he gave the title of *Tableau de l'Inconſtance des Mauvais Anges et Démons.*[1] Pierre de Lancre writes honeſtly and conſcientiouſly, and he evidently believes everything he has written. His book is valuable for the great amount of new information it contains, derived from the confeſſions of the witches, and given apparently in their own words. The ſecond book is devoted entirely to the details of the Sabbath.

It was ſtated by the witches in their examinations that, in times back, they had appointed Monday to be the day, or rather night, of aſſembly, but that in their time they had two nights of meeting in the week, thoſe of Wedneſday and Friday. Although ſome ſtated that they had been carried to the place of meeting in the middle of the day, they moſtly agreed in ſaying that the hour at which they were carried to the Sabbath was midnight. The place of aſſenbly was uſually choſen at a ſpot where roads croſſed, but this was not always the caſe, for De Lancre[2] tells us that they were

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qu'on diroit que c'eſt pluſtoſt l'armet de Priape que celuy du dieu Mars ; leur coeffure ſemble teſmoigner leur déſir, car les veuſves portent le morrion ſans creſte pour marquer que le maſle leur deffault. Et en Labourt les femmes monſtrent leur derrière tellement que tout l'ornement de leur cotillons pliſſez eſt derrière, et afin qu'il ſoit veu elles retrouſſent leur robbe et la mettent ſur la teſte et ſe couvrent juſqu'aux yeux. De Lancre, *Inconſtance des Démons*, p. 40.

[1] 4to. Paris, 1612. A new and improved edition appeared in 1613.

[2] Il a auſſi accouſtumé les tenir en quelque lieu déſert et ſauvage, comme au milieu

accuſtomed to hold their Sabbath in ſome lonely and wild locality, as in the middle of a heath, which was ſelected eſpecially for being far from the haunts or habitations of man. To this place, he ſays, they gave the name of Aquelarre, which he interprets as meaning *Lane de Bouc*, that is, the heath of the goat, meaning that it was the place where the goat, the uſual form aſſumed by Satan, convoked his aſſemblies. And he goes on to expreſs his opinion that theſe wild places were the original ſcenes of the Sabbath, though ſubſequently other places had been often adopted. "For we have heard more than fifty witneſſes who aſſured us that they had been at the Goat's Heath to the Sabbath held on the mountain of La Rhune, ſometimes on the open mountain, ſometimes in the chapel of the St. Eſprit, which is on the top of it, and ſometimes in the church of Dordach, which is on the borders of Labourd. At times they held it in private houſes, as when we held the trial, in the pariſh of St. Pé, the Sabbath was held one night in our hotel, called Barbare-nena, and in that of Maſter —— de Segure, aſſeſſor-criminal at Bayonne, who, at the ſame time

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d'une lande ; et encore en lieu du tout hors de paſſage, de voiſinage, d'habitation, et de rencontre : et communement ils l'appellent Aquelarre, qui ſignifie Lane de Bouc, comme qui dirait la lane ou lande où le Bouc convoque ſes aſſemblées. Et de faict les ſorciers qui confeſſent, nomment le lieu pour la choſe, et la choſe ou l'aſſemblée pour le lieu : tellement qu'encore que proprement Lane de Bouc, ſoit le Sabbat qui ſe tient ès landes, ſi eſt-ce qu'ils appellent auſſi bien Lane de Bouc le Sabbath qui ſe tient ès egliſes et ès places des villes, parroiſſes, maiſons, et autres lieux: parce qu'à mon advis les premiers lieux qui furent deſcouverts, où les dictes aſſemblées ſe faiſoyent, furent ès landes, pour la commodité du lieu. Et d'autant qu'on y voit le plus de ces boucs, chèvres, et autres animaux ſemblables. Car nous avons ouy plus de cinquante teſmoins qui nous ont aſſeuré avoir eſté à la Lane de Bouc, au Sabbat ſur la montagne de la Rhune, parfois à l'entour, parfois dans la chappelle meſme du S. Eſprit qui eſt au deſſus, et parfois dans l'égliſe de Dordach, qui eſt ſur les liſières de Labourt : parfois ès maiſons particulières, comme quand nous leur faiſions le procès en la parroiſſe de Sainct-Pé, le Sabbat ſe tint une nuict dans noſtre hoſtel, appellé de Barbare-nena, et en celuy de Maiſtre —— de Segure, aſſeſſeur

when we were there, made a more ample inquiſition againſt certain witches, by authority of an arreſt of the parliament of Bordeaux. Then they went the ſame night to hold it at the reſidence of the lord of the place, who is the Sieur d'Amou, and in his caſtle of St. Pé. But we have not found in the whole country of Labourd any other pariſh but that of St. Pé where the devil held the Sabbath in private houſes."

The devil is further deſcribed as ſeeking for his places of meeting, beſides the heaths, old decayed houſes, and ruins of old caſtles, eſpecially when they were ſituated on the ſummits of mountains. An old cemetery was ſometimes ſelected, where, as De Lancre quaintly obſerves, there were "no houſes but the houſes of the dead," eſpecially if it were in a ſolitary ſituation, as when attached to ſolitary churches and chapels, in the middle of the heaths, or on the tops of cliffs on the ſea ſhore, ſuch as the chapel of the Portugueſe at St. Jean de Luz, called St. Barbe, ſituated ſo high that it ſerves as a landmark to the ſhips approaching the coaſt, or on a high mountain, as La Rhune in Labourd, and the Puy de Dome in Perigord, and other ſuch places.

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criminel à Bayonne, lequel faiſoit en meſme temps que nous y eſtions une plus ample inquiſition contre certaines ſorcières, en vertu d'un arreſt de la Cour de Parlement de Bourdeaux. Puis s'en allerent en meſme nuict le tenir chez le ſeigneur du lieu, qui eſt le Sr. d'Amou, et en ſon chaſteau de Sainct-Pé. Et n'avons trouvé en tout le pays de Labourt aucune autre parroiſſe que celle de Sainct-Pé, où le Diable tint le Sabbat ès maiſons particulières.

Il cherche auſſi parfois, outre les landes, de vieilles mazures et ruines de vieux chaſteaux, aſſiz ſur les coupeaux des montagnes ; parfois d'autres lieux ſolitaires, où, pour toutes maiſons, il n'y a que des maiſons des morts, qui ſont les cimetières, et encore les plus eſcartez, commes près des égliſes ou chappelles ſeules, ou plantées au milieu d'une lande ou déſert, ou ſur une haute coſte de la mer, comme la chappelle des Portugais à Sainct Jean de Luz appellée de Saincte Barbe, ſi haut montée qu'elle ſert d'échauguete ou de phare pour les vaiſſeaux qui s'en approchent, ou ſur une haute montagne, comme la Rhune en Labourt et le Puy de Dome en Perigort, et autres lieux ſemblables. *Tableau de l'Inconſtance*, p. 65.

At theſe meetings, ſometimes, but rarely, Satan was abſent, in which caſe a little devil took his place. De Lancre[1] enumerates the various forms which the devil uſually aſſumed on theſe occaſions, with the remark that theſe forms were as numerous as "his movements were inconſtant, full of uncertainty, illuſion, deception, and impoſture." Some of the witches he examined, among whom was a girl thirteen years of age, named Marie d'Aguerre, ſaid that at theſe aſſemblies there appeared a great pitcher or jug in the middle of the Sabbath, and that out of it the devil iſſued in the form of a goat, which ſuddenly became ſo large that it was "frightful," and that at the end of the Sabbath he returned into the pitcher. Others deſcribed him as being like the great trunk of a tree, without arms or feet, ſeated in a chair, with the face of a great and frightful looking man. Others ſpoke of him as reſembling a great goat, with two horns before and two behind, thoſe before turned up in the ſemblance of a woman's perruque. According to the moſt common account, De Lancre ſays he had three horns, the one in the middle giving out a flame, with which he uſed at the Sabbath to give both light and fire to the

[1] Reſte maintenant, puis qu'il a comparu, d'en ſçavoir la forme, et en quel eſtat il a accouſtumé de ſe repréſenter et faire voir eſdictes aſſemblées. Il n'a point de forme conſtante, toutes ſes actions n'eſtans que mouvements inconſtans pleins d'incertitude, d'illuſion, de déception, et d'impoſture.

Marie d'Aguerre aagée de treize ans, et quelques autres, dépoſoient, qu'eſdictes aſſemblées il y a une grande cruche au milieu du Sabbat d'où ſort le Diable en forme de bouc : qu'eſtant ſorty il devient ſi grand qu'il ſe rend eſpouvantable : et que le Sabbat finy il rentre dans la cruche.

D'autres diſent qu'il eſt comme un grand tronc d'arbre obſcur ſans bras et ſans pieds, aſſis dans une chaire, ayant quelque forme de viſage d'homme, grand et affreux.

D'autres qu'il eſt comme un grand bouc, ayant deux cornes devant et deux en derrière : que celles de devant ſe rebraſſent en haut comme la perruque d'une femme. Mais le commun eſt qu'il a ſeulement trois cornes, et qu'il a quelque eſpèce de lumière en celle du milieu, de laquelle il a accouſtumé au Sabbat d'eſclairer et donner du feu et de la lumière, meſme à ces ſorcières, qui tiennent quelques chandelles

witches, ſome of whom who had candles lit them at his horn, in order to hold them at a mock ſervice of the maſs, which was one of the devil's ceremonies. He had alſo, ſometimes, a kind of cap or hat over his horns. "He has before him his member hanging out, which he exhibits always a cubit in length; and he has a great tail behind, with a form of a face under it, with which face he does not utter a word, but it ſerves only to offer to kiſs to thoſe he likes, honouring certain witches of either ſex more than the others." The devil, it will be obſerved, is here repreſented with the ſymbol of Priapus. Marie d'Aſpilecute, aged nineteen years, who lived at Handaye, depoſed that the firſt time ſhe was preſented to the devil ſhe kiſſed him on this face behind, beneath a great tail, and that ſhe repeated the kiſs three times, adding that this face was made like the muzzle of a goat. Others said that he was ſhaped like a great man, "enveloped in a cloudineſs, becauſe he would not be ſeen clearly," and that he was all "flamboyant," and had a face red like an iron coming out of the furnace. Corneille Brolic, a lad of twelve years of age, ſaid that when he was firſt introduced to him he had the human form, with four horns on his head, and without

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alumées aux cérémonies de la meſſe qu'ils voulent contrefaire. On luy voit auſſi quelque eſpèce de bonet ou chapeau au deſſus de ſes cornes. Il a au devant ſon membre tiré et pendant, et le monſtre tousjours long d'une coudée, et une grande queuë au derrière, et une forme de viſage au deſſoubs : duquel viſage il ne profere aucune parole, ains luy ſert pour le donner à baiſer à ceux que bon luy ſemble, honorant certains ſorciers ou ſorcières plus les uns que les autres.

Marie d'Aſpilecute, habitante de Handaye, aagée de 19 ans, dépoſe, Que la première fois qu'elle luy fut préſentée elle le baiſa à ce viſage de derrière au deſſoubs d'une grande queuë : qu'elle l'y a baiſé par trois fois, et qu'il avoit auſſi ce viſage faict comme le muſeau d'un bouc.

D'autres diſent qu'il eſt en forme d'un grand homme veſtu ténébreuſement, et qui ne veut eſtre veu clairement, ſi bien qu'ils diſent qu'il eſt tout flamboyant, et le viſage rouge comme un fer ſortant de la fournaiſe.

Corneille Brolic aagé de 12 ans, dict, Que lorſqu'il luy fut préſenté il eſtoit en forme d'homme, ayant quatre cornes en la teſte, et ſans bras, et aſſis dans une chaire,

arms. He was ſeated in a pulpit, with ſome of the women, who were his favourites, always near him. "And they are all agreed that it is a great pulpit, which ſeems to be gilt and very pompous." Janette d'Abadie, of Siboro, ſixteen years old, ſaid that Satan had a face before and another behind his head, as they repreſent the god Janus. De Lancre had alſo heard him deſcribed as a great black dog, as a large ox of braſs lying down, and as a natural ox in repoſe.

Although it was ſtated that in former times the devil had uſually appeared in the form of a ſerpent,—another coincidence with the priapic worſhip,—it appears certain that in the time of De Lancre his favourite form of ſhowing himſelf was that of a goat. At the opening of the Sabbath the witches, male or female, preſented formally to the devil thoſe who had never been at the Sabbath before, and the women eſpecially brought to him the children whom they allured to him. The new converts, the novices, were made to renounce Chriſt, the Virgin Mary, and the ſaints, and they were then re-baptized with mock ceremonies. They next performed their worſhip to the devil by kiſſing him on the face under the tail, or otherwiſe. The young children were taken to the edge of a ſtream —for the ſcene was generally choſen on the banks of a ſtream— and white wands were placed in their hands, and they were entruſted with the care of the toads which were kept there, and which were of importance in the ſubſequent operations of the witches. The renunciation was frequently renewed, and in ſome caſes it was required

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avec quelques femmes de ſes favorites tousjours près de luy. Et tous ſont d'accord que c'eſt une grande chaire qui ſemble dorée et fort pompeuſe.

Janette d'Abadie de Siboro, aagée de 16 ans, dit qu'il avoit un viſage devant, et un viſage derrière la teſte, comme on peint le dieu Janus.

J'ai veu quelque procédure, eſtant à la Tournelle, qui le peignoit au Sabbat comme un grand levrier noir : parfois comme un grand boeuf d'airain couché à terre, comme un boeuf naturel qui ſe repoſe. *Tableau de l'Inconſtance*, p. 67.

every time the witch attended the Sabbath. Janette d'Abadie, a girl of ſixteen, ſaid that he made her repeatedly go through the ceremony of kiſſing him on the face, and afterwards on the navel, then on the virile member, and then on the poſteriors.[1] After re-baptiſm, he put his mark on the body of his victim, in ſome covered part where it was not likely to be ſeen. In women it was often placed on or within the ſexual parts.

De Lancre's account of the proceedings at the Sabbath is very full and curious.[2] He ſays that it "reſembled a fair of merchants mingled together, furious and in tranſports, arriving from all parts—a meeting and mingling of a hundred thouſand ſubjects, ſudden and tranſitory, novel, it is true, but of a frightful novelty, which offends the eye and ſickens you. Among these ſame ſubjects ſome are real, and others deceitful and illuſory. Some are pleaſing (but very little), as are the little bells and melodious inſtruments of all ſorts, which only tickle the ear and do not touch the heart at all, conſiſting more in noiſe which amazes and ſtuns than in harmony which pleaſes and rejoices, the others diſpleaſing, full of deformity and horror, tending only to deſolation, privation, ruin, and deſtruction, where the perſons become brutiſh and transformed to beaſts, loſing their ſpeech while they are in this condition, and the beaſts, on the contrary, talk,

[1] Sur quoy elle adjouſte une choſe notable, que bien ſouvent il luy faiſoit baiſer ſon viſage, puis le nombril, puis le membre viril, puis ſon derrière. De Lancre, *De l'Inconſtance*, p. 72.

[2] Le Sabbat eſt comme une foire de marchands meſlez, furieux et tranſportez, qui arrivent de toutes parts, un rencontre et meſlange de cent mille ſubjects ſoudains et tranſitoires, nouveaux à la vérité, mais d'une nouveauté effroyable qui offence l'oeil et ſoubſleve le coeur. Parmy ces meſmes ſubjects il s'en voit de réels, et d'autres preſtigieux et illuſoires : aucuns plaiſans (mais fort peu), comme ſont les clochettes et inſtrumens mélodieux qu'on y entend de toutes ſortes, qui ne chatouillent que l'oreille, et ne touchent rien au coeur : conſiſtant plus en bruit qui eſtourdit et eſtonne, qu'en harmonie qui plaiſe et qui resjouiſſe ; les autres déplaiſans, pleins de difformité et d'horreur, ne tendant qu'à diſſolution, privation, ruine, et deſtruction, où les per-

and ſeem to have more reaſon than the perſons, each being drawn out of his natural character."

The women, according to De Lancre, were the active agents in all this confuſion, and had more employment than the men. They ruſhed about with their hair hanging looſe, and their bodies naked; ſome rubbed with the magical ointment, others not. They arrived at the Sabbath, or went from it, on their errands of miſchief, perched on a ſtick or beſom, or carried upon a goat or other animal, with an infant or two behind, and guided or driven on by the devil himſelf. "And when Satan will tranſport them into the air (which is an indulgence only to the moſt ſuperior), he ſets them off and launches them up like fired rockets, and they repair to and dart down upon the ſaid place a hundred times more rapidly than an eagle or a kite could dart upon its prey."

Theſe women, on their arrival, reported to Satan all the miſchief they had perpetrated. Poiſon, of all kinds and for all purpoſes, was there the article moſt in vogue. Toads were ſaid to form one of its ingredients, and the charge of theſe animals, while alive, was

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ſonnes s'y abbrutiſſent et transforment en beſtes, perdant la parole tant qu'elles ſont ainſi. Et les beſtes au contraire y parlent, et ſemblent avoir plus de raiſon que les perſonnes, chacun eſtant tiré hors ſon naturel.

Les courriers ordinaires du ſabbat ſont les femmes, les myſtères duquel paſſent par leurs mains, [plus] que par celles des hommes. Or elles volent et courent eſchevelées comme furies à la mode du pays, ayant la teſte ſi legère, qu'elles n'y peuvent ſouffrir couverture. On les y voit nues, ores graiſſées, ores non. Elles arrivent ou partent (car chacune a quelque infauſte et meſchante commiſſion) perchées ſur un baſton ou balay, ou portées ſur un bouc ou autre animal, un pauvre enfant ou deux en croupe, ayant le diable ores au devant pour guide, ores en derrière et en queue comme un rude foüeteur. Et lorſque Sathan les veut tranſporter en l'air (ce qui n'eſt encor donné qu'aux plus ſuffiſantes), il les eſſore et eſlance comme fuſées bruiantes, et en la deſcente elles ſe rendent audit lieu et fondent bas, cent fois plus viſte qu'un aigle ou un milan ne ſçauroit fondre ſur ſa proye.

Ces furieuſes courrières ne portent jamais que ſiniſtres nouvelles, mais vrayes, car elles ne contiennent que l'hiſtoire véritable des maux qu'elles ont faict. Le poiſon, de

given to the children whom the witches brought with them to the Sabbath, and to whom, as a ſort of enſign of office, little white rods were given, "juſt ſuch as they give to perſons infected with the plague as a mark of their contagion."

The devil was the ſovereign maſter of the aſſembly, and appeared at it ſometimes in the form of a ſtinking and bearded goat, as one, De Lancre ſays, which was eſpecially repulſive to mankind. The goat, we know, was dedicated to Priapus. Sometimes he aſſumed a form, if we clearly underſtand De Lancre, which preſented a confuſed idea of ſomething between a tree and a man, which is compared, for he becomes rather poetical, to the old decayed cypreſſes on the ſummit of a high mountain, or to aged oaks whoſe heads already bear the marks of approaching decay.

When the devil appeared in human form, that form was horribly ugly and repulſive, with a hoarſe voice and an imperious manner. He was ſeated in a pulpit, which glittered like gold; and at his

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toutes ſortes et à tous uſages, eſt la plus précieuſe denrée de ce lieu. Les enfans ſont les bergers, qui gardent chacun la bergerie des crapaux, que chaque ſorcière qui les mene au ſabbat leur a baillé à garder, ayant chacun une gaule blanche en main ; telle qu'on baille aux peſtiferez pour marque de leur contagion.

Le diable, maiſtre ſouverain de l'aſſemblée, s'y repréſente parfois en bouc puant et barbu : la plus horrible et orde figure qu'il a peu emprunter parmy tous animaux, et celuy avec lequel l'homme a le moins de commerce. Il s'y trouve et s'y void quelque fois en tronc d'arbre eſpouvantable en forme d'homme ſombre et monſtrueux: comme ſont ces vieux cyprès ſurannez à la cime d'une haute montagne, ou ces cheſnes chauves que la vieilleſſe faict commencer à ſecher par la teſte, vrayement tronc, car il y paroiſt eſcartellé, et comme eſtropiat, et ſans braſ, et en figure d'un géant ténébreux et object fort reculé.

Que s'il y paroiſt en homme, c'eſt en homme gehenné, tourmenté, rouge et flamboyant comme un feu qui ſort d'une fournaiſe ardente. Homme effacé, duquel la forme ne paroiſt qu'a demy, avec une voix caſſé, morfondue, et non articulée, mais impérieuſe, bruiante, et effroyable. Si bien qu'on ne ſçauroit bonnement dire à le voir s'il eſt homme, tronc, ou beſte. Il eſt aſſis dans une chaire, dorée en apparence, mais flamboiante : la royne du ſabbat à ſon coſté, qui eſt quelque ſorcière qu'il

ſide ſat the queen of the Sabbath, one of the witches whom he had debauched, to whom he choſe to give greater honour than to the others, and whom he decked in gay robes, with a crown on her head, to ſerve as a bait to the ambition of the reſt. Candles of pitch, or torches, yielded a falſe light, which gave people in appearance monſtrous forms and frightful faces.

Here you ſee falſe fires, through which ſome of the demons were firſt paſſed, and afterwards the witches, without ſuffering any pain, which, as explained by De Lancre, was intended to teach them not to fear the fire of hell. But we ſee in theſe the need-fires, which formed a part of the priapic orgies, and of which we have ſpoken before (p. 163). There women are preſenting to him children, whom they have initiated in ſorcery, and he ſhows them a deep pit, into which he threatens to throw them if they refuſe to renounce God and to adore Satan.

In other parts are ſeen great cauldrons, full of toads and vipers, hearts of unbaptized children, fleſh of criminals who had been hanged, and other diſguſting ingredients, of which they make pots of ointments, &c. and poiſons, the ordinary articles of commerce

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a debauchée, laquelle il faict paroiſtre pompeuſe, ornée de pluſieurs faux affiquets, et couronnée en royne, pour amorcer les autres. Donnant auſſi une forme affreuſe, preſque à tous ceux qui sont en cette aſſemblée maudite, les viſages deſquels, à la fauce lumière de ces chandeles de poix qui s'y voyent, paroiſſent ténébreux, farouches, ou voilez : et les perſonnes de taille et hauteur monſtrueuſe, ou de baſſeſſe extraordinaire et deffectueuſe.

On y voit de faux feux, au travers deſquels il faict paſſer quelques démons, puis des ſorcières, d'où il les tire ſans douleur pour les apprivoiſer à ne craindre les feux de notre juſtice en ce monde, n'y les feux éternels de la juſtice divine en l'autre. On luy offre deſ enfans innocens enſorcellez par de méchantes femmes, auſquels il repréſente des abyſmes dans leſquels il faict ſemblant de les précipiter, s'ils font tant ſoit peu les reſtifs à renoncer Dieu et à l'adorer.

On y voit de grandes chaudières pleines de crapaux et vipères, coeurs d'enfans non baptiſez, chair de pendus, et autres horribles charognes, et des eaux puantes, pots de graiſſe et de poiſon qui ſe preſte et ſe debite à cette foire, comme eſtant la plus pré-

in this "fair." Of ſuch objects, alſo, were compoſed the diſhes ſerved at the Sabbath tables, at which no ſalt was allowed, becauſe Satan wiſhed everything to be inſipid, muſty, and bad-taſted.

Here we ſee people "dancing, either 'in long,' in couples, turned back to back, or ſometimes 'in round,' all turning their backs towards the centre of the dance, the girls and women each holding by the hand their demons, who teach them movements and geſtures ſo laſcivious and indecent that they would horrify the moſt ſhameleſs woman in the world; with ſongs of a compoſition ſo brutal, and in terms and words of ſuch licence and lubricity, that the eyes become troubled, the ears confounded, and the underſtanding bewitched, at the appearance of ſo many monſtrous things all crowded together."

"The women and girls with whom the demons chooſe to have connection are covered with a cloud, to conceal the execrations and ordures attached to theſe ſcenes, and to prevent the compaſſion which others might have on the ſcreams and ſufferings of theſe poor wretches." In order to "mix impiety with the other abominations," they pretended to perform religious rites, which were a wild

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cieuſe et commune marchandiſe qui s'y trouve. Et néantmoins ce ſont les meilleures viandes qu'on rencontre en leurs feſtins, deſquels ils ont banni le ſel, parceque Sathan veut que tout y ſoit inſipide, relant, et de gouſt depravé.

On y dance en long, deux à deux, et dos à dos, et parfois en rond, tous le dos tourné vers le centre de la dance, les filles et femmes tenant chacune leurs démons par la main, lesquels leur apprennent des traicts et geſtes ſi laſcifs et indécens, qu'ils feroyent horreur à la plus effrontée femme du monde; avec des chanſons d'une compoſition ſi brutale, et en termes et mots ſi licencieux et lubriques, que les yeux ſe troublent, les oreilles s'eſtourdiſſent, et l'entendement s'enchante, de voir tant de choſes monſtrueuſes qui s'y rencontrent à la fois.

Les femmes et filles avec leſquelles il ſe veut accoupler, ſont couvertes d'une nuée, pour cacher les exécrations et ordures qui s'y trouvent, et pour oſter la compaſſion qu'on pourroit avoir des cris et douleurs de ces pauvres miſérables. Et voulant meſler l'impiété avec l'abomination du ſortilège, pour leur faire paroiſtre qu'il veut qu'elles vivent avec quelque forme de religion, le ſervice ou culte divin,

there, without changing or altering anything in what they depoſed, in order that every one may ſelect what he likes."

The firſt witneſs adduced by De Lancre is not one belonging to his own time, but dating back as far as the 18th of December, 1567, and he had obtained a copy of the confeſſion. Eſtébene de Cambrue, of the pariſh of Amou, a woman twenty-five years of age, ſaid that the great Sabbath was held four times a year, in deriſion of the four annual feſtivals of the Church. The little aſſemblies, which were held in the neighbourhood of the towns or pariſhes, were attended only by thoſe of the locality; they were called "paſtimes," and were held ſometimes in one place and ſometimes in another, and there they only danced and frolicked, for the devil did not come there in all his ſtate as at the great aſſemblies. They were, in fact, the greater and leſſer Priapeia. She ſaid that the place of the grand convocation was generally called the "Lanne de Bouc" (the goat's heath), where they danced round a ſtone, which was planted in the ſaid place, (perhaps one of the ſo-called Druidical monuments,) upon which was ſeated a great black man, whom they called "Monſieur." Each perſon preſent kiſſed this black man on the poſteriors.

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tumé d'y voir, ſans rien changer n'y alterer de leur dépoſition, afin que chacun en prenne ce qu'il luy plaira.

Je commenceray par une fort ancienne dépoſition que j'ay trouvée puis peu de jours, d'une Eſtébene de Cambrue, aagée de 25 ans, de la paroiſſe d'Amou, du 18 Décembre 1567, qui marque que deſlors cette pauvre parroiſſe en eſtoit déjà infectée: qui dict que les ſorcières n'alloient en la grande aſſemblée et au grand Sabbat que quatre fois l'année, en dériſion des cérémonies que l'égliſe célèbre les quatre feſtes annuelles. Car les petites aſſemblées qui ſe font près des villes ou parroiſſes, où il n'y va que ceux du lieu, ils les appellent les eſbats, et ſe font ores en un lieu de ladite parroiſſe, ores en un autre, où on ne faict que ſauter et folaſtrer, le diable n'y eſtant avec tout ſon grand arroy, comme aux grandes aſſemblées. Que le lieu de ceſte grande convocation s'appelle généralement par tout le pays la Lanne du Bouc. Où ils ſe mettent à dancer à l'entour d'une pierre, qui eſt plantée audit lieu, ſur laquelle eſt aſſis un grand homme noir, qu'elles

She ſaid that they were carried to that place on an animal which ſometimes reſembled a horſe and at others a man, and they never rode on the animal more than four at a time. When arrived at the Sabbath, they denied God, the Virgin, "and the reſt," and took Satan for their father and protector, and the ſhe-devil for their mother. This witneſs deſcribed the making and ſale of poiſons. She ſaid that ſhe had ſeen at the Sabbath a notary, whoſe name ſhe gave, whoſe buſineſs it was to denounce thoſe who failed in attendance. When on their way to the Sabbath, however hard it might rain, they were never wet, provided they uttered the words, *Haut la coude, Quillet*, becauſe then the tail of the beaſt on which they were mounted covered them ſo well that they were ſheltered from the rain. When they had to make a long journey they ſaid theſe words: *Pic ſuber hoeilhe, en ta la lane de bouc bien m'arrecoueille.*

A man ſeventy-three years of age, named Petri Daguerre, was brought before De Lancre and his fellow commiſſioners at Uſtarits; two witneſſes aſſerted that he held the office of maſter of the cere-

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appellent Monſieur, et chacun de l'aſſemblée luy va baiſer le derrière. Et ſe font porter juſqu'audit lieu, ſur une beſte, qui ſemble parfois un cheval, et parfoys un homme; et ne montent jamais plus haut de quatre ſur ces montures qui portent ainſi au Sabbat. Là ils renient Dieu, la Vierge, et le reſte, et prennent Satan pour leur père et protecteur, et la diableſſe pour leur mère. Qu'aucuns font là du poiſon, deſquels les autres le vont acheter, lequel eſt faict de crapaux, avec une langue de boeuf ou vache, et une chèvre et des oeufs couvez et pourris, et de la cervelle d'enfant, et le mettent cuire dans un pot. Dict qu'elle a veu au Sabbat un notaire qu'elle nomme, lequel a accouſtumé de lever les defauts de celles qui ont manqué de ſe trouver au Sabbat, et dict qu'encore qu'il pleuſt à pleins ſeaux, lorſqu'on eſt en chemin pour y aller, on ne ſe moüille point, pourveu qu'on die ces mots, *Haut la coude, Quillet*, parce qu'alors la queuë de la beſte ſur laquelle ils vont au Sabbat les couvre ſi bien, qu'ils ne ſe moüillent point. Et quand ils font un long chemin, ils diſent tels mots: *Pic ſuber hoeilhe, en ta la lane de bouc bien m'arrecoueille.*

En la procédure d'Uſtarits, qui eſt le ſiège de la juſtice de Labourt, faiſant le procez à Petri Daguerre, aagé de ſeptante trois ans, lequel depuis a eſté exécuté à mort

monies and governor of the Sabbath, and that the devil gave him a gilt ſtaff, which he carried in his hand as a mark of authority, and arranged and directed the proceedings. He returned the ſtaff to Satan at the cloſe of the meeting.

One Leger Rivaſſeau confeſſed that he had been at the Sabbath twice without adoring the devil, or doing any of the things required from the others, because it was part of his bargain, for he had given the half of his left foot for the faculty of curing, and the right of being preſent at the Sabbath without further obligation. He ſaid "that the Sabbath was held about midnight, at a meeting of croſs roads, moſt frequently on the nights of Wedneſday and Friday; that the devil choſe in preference the ſtormieſt nights, in order that the winds and troubled elements might carry their powders farther and more impetuouſly; that two notable devils preſided at their Sabbaths, the great negro, whom they called maſter Leonard, and another little devil, whom maſter Leonard at times ſubſtituted in his place, and whom they called maſter Jean Mullin; that they adored the grand maſter, and that, after having

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comme inſigne ſorcier, deux teſmoins luy maintindrent qu'il eſtoit le maiſtre des cérémonies et gouverneur du Sabbat. Que le Diable luy mettoit en main un baſton tout doré, avec lequel, comme un maiſtre de camp, il rengeoit et les perſonnes et toutes choſes au Sabbat: et qu'iceluy finy il rendoit ce baſton au grand maiſtre de l'aſſemblée.

Leger Rivaſſeau confeſſa en la Cour qu'il avoit eſté au Sabbat par deux fois, ſans adorer le Diable ny faire comme les autres, parcequ'il avoit ainſi faict ſon pacte avec luy, et baillé la moitié de ſon pied gauche pour avoir la faculté de guérir, et la liberté de voir le Sabbat ſimplement ſans eſtre obligé à autre choſe. Et diſoit que le Sabbat ſe faiſoit preſque tousjours environ la minuit, à un carrefour, le plus ſouvent la nuict du Mercredy et du Vendredy: que le diable cherchoit la nuict la plus orageuſe qu'il pouvoit, afin que les vents et les orages portaſſent plus loing et plus impètueuſement leurs poudres; que deux diables notables préſidoient en ces Sabbats, le grand Negre qu'on appelloit maiſtre Leonard, et un autre petit diable que maiſtre Leonard ſubrogeoit quelquefois en ſa place, qu'ils appellent maiſtre Jean Mullin; qu'on adorait le grand maiſtre,

kiſſed his poſteriors, there were about ſixty of them dancing without dreſs, back to back, each with a great cat attached to the tail of his or her ſhirt, and that afterwards they danced naked; that this maſter Leonard, taking the form of a black fox, hummed at the beginning a word ill articulated, after which they were all ſilent."

Some of the witches examined ſpoke of the delight with which they attended the Sabbath. Jeanne Dibaſſon, a woman twenty-nine years old, ſaid that the Sabbath was the true Paradiſe, where there was far more pleaſure than can be expreſſed; that thoſe who went there found the time ſo ſhort by reaſon of the pleaſure and enjoyment, that they never left it without marvelous regret, ſo that they looked forward with infinite impatience to the next meeting.

Marie de la Ralde, "a very handſome woman twenty-eight years of age," who had then abandoned her connection with the devil five or ſix years, gave a full account of her experience of the Sabbath. She ſaid ſhe had frequented the Sabbaths from the time ſhe was ten years old, having been firſt taken there by Mariſſans, the wife of Sarrauch, and after her death the devil took her there himſelf.

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et qu'après qu'on luy avoit baiſé le derrière, ils eſtoient environ ſoixante qui dançoient ſans habits, dos-à-dos, chacun un grand chat attaché à la queuë de la chemiſe, puis ils dançoient tous nuds : que ce maiſtre Leonard prenant la forme d'un renard noir bourdonnoit au commencement une parole mal articulée, et qu'après cela tout le monde eſtoit en ſilence. . . . .

Jeanne Dibaſſon, aagée de vingt neuf ans, nous dict que le Sabbat eſtoit le vray Paradis, où il y a beaucoup plus de plaiſir qu'on n'en peut exprimer : que ceux qui y vont trouvent le temps ſi court, à force de plaiſir et de contentment, qu'ils n'en peuvent ſortir ſans un merveilleux regret, de manière qu'il leur tarde infiniment qu'ils n'y reviennent.

Marie de la Ralde, aagée de vingt huict ans, très-belle femme, laquelle a quitté cette abomination puis cinq ou ſix ans, dépoſe qu'elle a eſté ſorcière et fréquenté les Sabbats puis l'aage de dix ans, y ayant eſté menée la première fois par Mariſſans femme de Sarrauch, et après ſon decez le Diable l'y menoit luy meſme. Que la première fois

That the firſt time ſhe was there ſhe ſaw the devil in the ſhape of a trunk of a tree, without feet, but apparently ſitting in a pulpit, with ſome form of a human face, very obſcure; but ſince ſhe had often ſeen him in man's form, ſometimes red, ſometimes black. That ſhe had often ſeen him approach a hot iron to the children which were preſented to him, but ſhe did not know if he marked them with it. That ſhe had never kiſſed him ſince ſhe had arrived at the age of knowledge, and does not know whether ſhe had kiſſed him before or not; but ſhe had ſeen how, when one went to adore him, he preſented ſometimes his face to kiſs, ſometimes his poſteriors, as it pleaſed him, and at his diſcretion. That ſhe had a ſingular pleaſure in going to the Sabbath, ſo that every time ſhe was ſummoned to go there, ſhe went as though it were to a wedding feaſt; not ſo much for the liberty and licence they had there to have connection with each other (which out of modeſty ſhe ſaid ſhe had never done or ſeen done), but becauſe the devil had ſo ſtrong a hold on their hearts and wills that it hardly allowed any other deſire to enter. Beſides that the witches believe they are going to a place where there are a hundred thouſand wonders and novelties to ſee, and where they hear ſo great a diverſity

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qu'elle y fut, elle y vit le Diable en forme de tronc d'arbre, ſans pieds, qui ſembloit eſtre dans une chaire, avec quelque forme de face humaine ſort ténébreuſe, mais depuis elle l'a veu ſouvent en forme d'homme, tantot rouge, tantot noir: qu'elle la veu ſouvent approcher un fer chaud près des enfants qu'on luy préſentoit, mais qu'elle ne ſçait s'il les marquoit avec cela. Qu'elle ne l'a jamais baiſé puis qu'elle eſt en aage de cognoiſſance, et ne ſçait ſi auparavant elle l'avoit baiſé: bien a veu que comme on le va adorer, ores il leur préſente le viſage à baiſer, ores le derrière, comme il luy plaiſt, et à ſa diſcretion. Qu'elle avoit un ſingulier plaiſir d'aller au Sabbat, ſi bien que quand on la venoit ſemondre d'y aller, elle y alloit comme à nopces: non pas tant pour la liberté et licence qu'on a de s'accointer enſemble (ce que par modeſtie elle dict n'avoir jamais fait ny veu faire), mais parce que le Diable tenoit tellement liés leurs coeurs et leurs volontez qu'à peine y laiſſoit il entrer nul autre déſir: Outre que les ſorcières croyent aller en quelque lieu où il y a cent mille choſes eſtranges et nouvelles

of melodious inſtruments that they are raviſhed, and believe themſelves to be in ſome terreſtrial paradiſe. Moreover the devil perſuades them that the fear of hell, which is ſo much apprehended, is a piece of folly, and gives them to underſtand that the eternal puniſhments will hurt them no more than a certain artificial fire which he cauſes them craftily to light, and then makes them paſs through it and repaſs without hurt. And more, that they ſee there ſo many prieſts, their paſtors, curés, vicars, and confeſſors, and other people of quality of all ſorts, ſo many heads of families, and ſo many miſtreſſes of the principal houſes in the ſaid country, ſo many people veiled, whom they conſidered to be grandees, becauſe they concealed themſelves and wiſhed to be unknown, that they believed and took it for a very great honour and good fortune to be received there.

Marie d'Aſpilcouëtte, a girl nineteen years old, who lived at Handaye, ſaid that ſhe had frequented the Sabbath ever ſince the age of ſeven, and that ſhe was taken there the firſt time by Catherine de Moleres, who had ſince been executed to death for having cauſed a man's death by ſorcery. She ſaid that it was now two years ſince

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à voir, et y entendent tant de divers et mélodieux inſtruments qu'elles ſont ravies, et croyent eſtre dans quelque Paradis terreſtre. D'ailleurs que le Diable leur perſuade que la crainte de l'Enfer, qu'on appréhende ſi fort, eſt une niayſerie, et leur donne à entendre que les peines éternelles ne les tourmenteront pas davantage, que certain feu artificiel qu'il leur faict cauteleuſement allumer, par lequel il les faict paſſer et repaſſer ſans ſouffrir aucun mal. D'avantage qu'elles y voyent tant de preſtres, leurs paſteurs, curez, vicaires, et confeſſeurs, et autres gens de qualité de toute ſortes, tant de chefs de famille et tant de maiſtreſſes des maiſons principales dudict païs, tant de gens voilez, qu'elles préſuppoſent grans parcequ'ils ſe cachent et veulent eſtre incognus, qu'elles croyent et prennent à très grand honneur et à tiltre de bonne fortune d'y eſtre receuës. . . . .

Marie d'Aſpilcouëtte, habitante de Handaye, aagée de dix neuf ans, dict qu'elle a fréquenté les Sabbats puis l'aage de ſept ans, et qu'elle y fut conduitte la première fois par Catherine de Moleres qui a depuis eſté exécutée à mort, luy ayant eſté maintenu, qu'elle avoit chargé le haut mal par ſon ſeul attouchement à un ſort

ſhe had withdrawn from her relations with Satan. That the devil appeared in the form of a goat, having a tail and under it the face of a black man, which ſhe was compelled to kiſs, and that this poſterior face has not the power of ſpeech, but they were obliged to adore and kiſs it. Afterwards the ſaid Moleres gave her ſeven toads to keep. That the ſaid Moleres tranſported her through the air to the Sabbath, where ſhe ſaw people dancing, with violins, trumpets, and tabors, which made a very great harmony. That in the ſaid aſſemblies there was an extreme pleaſure and enjoyment. That they made love in full liberty before all the world. That ſome were employed in cutting off the heads of toads, while others made poiſon of them; and that they made the poiſon at home as well as at the Sabbath.

After deſcribing the different ſorts of poiſons prepared on theſe occaſions, De Lancre proceeds to report the teſtimony of other witneſſes to the details of the Sabbath.[1] Jeannette de Belloc, called Atſoua, a damſel of twenty-four years of age, ſaid that ſhe had been made a witch in her childhood by a woman named Oylarchahar, who took her for the firſt time to the Sabbath, and there preſented her to the devil; and after her death, Mary Martin,

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honneſte homme : que néantmoins il y a deux ans qu'elle s'eſt retirée des liens de Satan, et qu'elle en a ſecoüé le joug. Que le Diable eſtoit en forme de bouc, ayant une queuë et au deſſoubs un viſage d'homme noir, où elle fut contrainte le baiſer, et n'a parole par ce viſage de derrière, qu'on luy fit adorer et baiſer : puis ladicte Moleres luy donna ſept crapuax à garder. Que la dicte Moleres la tranſportoit au Sabbat par l'air, où elle voyoit dancer avec violons, trompettes, ou tabourins, qui rendoyent une trèsgrande harmonie. Qu'eſdictes aſſemblées y a un extrême plaiſir et resjouiſſance. Qu'on y faict l'amour en toute liberté devant tout le monde. Que pluſieurs s'emploient à couper la teſte à des crapaux, et les autres à en faire du poiſon: qu'on en faict au logis auſſi bien qu'au Sabbat. *Tableau l'Inconſtance*, pp. 119 et ſeqq.

[1] Jeannette de Belloc dicte Atſoua, fille de 24 ans, nous dict que puis ſon bas aage elle avoit eſté faicte ſorciére par une femme nommée Oylarchahar, laquelle la mena au Sabbat la première fois, et la préſenta au Diable, et après ſon decez, Marie Martin,

lady of the houſe of Adamechorena, took her place. About the month of February, 1609, Jeannette confeſſed to a prieſt who was the nephew of madame Martin, who went to his aunt and merely enjoined her not to take the girl to the Sabbath any more. Jeannette ſaid that at the ſolemn feſtivals all kiſſed the devil's poſteriors except the notable witches, who kiſſed him in the face. According to her account, the children, at the age of two or three years, or as ſoon as they could ſpeak, were made to renounce Jeſus Chriſt, the Virgin Mary, their baptiſm, &c. and from that moment they were taught to worſhip the devil. She deſcribed the Sabbath as reſembling a fair, well ſupplied with all ſorts of objects, in which ſome walked about in their own form, and others were transformed, ſhe knew not how, into dogs, cats, aſſes, horſes, pigs, and other animals. The little boys and girls kept the herds of the Sabbath, conſiſting of a world of toads near a ſtream, with ſmall white rods, and were not allowed to approach the great maſs of the witches; while others, of more advanced age, who were not objects of ſufficient reſpect, were kept apart in a ſort of apprenticeſhip, during

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dame de la maiſon d'Adamechorena, print ſa place. Et d'autant qu'environ le mois de Febvrier 1609, elle s'alla confeſſer à maiſtre Jean de Horrouſteguy, prieur de Soubernoue, nepveu de ladicte Martin, il enjoignit à ſa tante de la laiſſer en paix et ne la mener plus au Sabbat. Qu'ès feſtes ſolemnelles on baiſoit le Diable au derrière, mais les notables ſorcières le baiſoient au viſage. Que les enfans environ l'aage de deux ou trois ans, et puis qu'ils ſçavent parler, font la rénonciation à Jéſus-Chriſt, à la Saincte Vierge, à leur Bapteſme, et à tout le reſte, et commencent dès lors à prendre habitude à recognoiſtre et adorer le Diable. Dict que le Sabbat eſt comme une foire célèbre de toutes ſortes de choſes, en laquelle aucuns ſe promenent en leur propre forme, et d'autres ſont transformez, ne ſçayt pourquoy, en chiens, en chats, aſnes, chevaux, pourceaux, et autres animaux: les petits enfans et filles gardent les troupeaux du Sabbat, qui ſont un monde de crapaux, près d'un ruiſſeau avec des petites gaules blanches qu'on leur donne, ſans les laiſſer approcher du gros des autres ſorciers: les médiocres et ceux qui ſont de bon aage parmy eux, on leur permet ſimplement de voir, et leur en donne-on le plaiſir et l'eſtonnement, les tenant comme en apprentiſſage. Pour les autres il y en a de deux ſortes; aucuns

which they were only allowed to look on at the proceedings of the others. Of theſe there were two ſorts; ſome were veiled, to make the poorer claſſes believe that they were people of rank and diſtinction, and that they did not wiſh themſelves to be known in ſuch a place; others were uncovered, and openly danced, had ſexual intercourſe, made the poiſons, and performed their other diabolical functions; and theſe were not allowed to approach ſo near "the maſter" as thoſe who were veiled. The holy water uſed at the Sabbath was the devil's urine. She pointed out two of the accuſed whom ſhe had ſeen at the Sabbath playing upon the tabor and the violin. She ſpoke of the numbers who were ſeen arriving and departing continually, the latter to do evil, the former to report what they had done. They went out at ſea, even as far as Newfoundland, where their huſhands and ſons went to fiſh, in order to raiſe ſtorms, and endanger their ſhips. This deponent ſpoke alſo of the fires at the Sabbath, into which the witches were

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ſont voilez pour donner opinion aux pauvres que ce ſont des princes et grands ſeigneurs, et qu'aucun d'eux n'ayt horreur d'y eſtre et faire ce qu'ils font en adorant le diable. . . Les autres ſont decouſverts et tout ouvertement dancent, s'accouplent, font du poiſon, et autres fonctions diaboliques, et ceux cy ne ſont ſi près du maiſtre, ſi favoris, ne ſi employez. Ils baillent l'aſperges de l'urine du Diable. Ils y vont à l'offrande, et y a veu tenir le baſſin à un Eſteben Detzail, lors priſonnier: et diſoit-on qu'il s'en eſtoit enrichy. Qu'elle y a veu jouer du tabourin à Anſugarlo de Handaye, lequel a depuis eſté exécuté à mort comme inſigne ſorcier, et du violon à Gaſtelloue. Elle nous diſoit qu'on euſt veu deſloger du Sabbat et voler l'une en l'air, l'autre monter plus haut vers le ciel, l'autre deſcendre vers la terre, et l'autre parfois ſe précipiter dans les grands feux allumez audit lieu, comme fuzées qui ſont jettées par pluſieurs, ou comme eſclairs: l'une arrive, l'autre part, et tout à un coup pluſieurs partent, pluſieurs arrivent, chacune rendant compte des vents et orages qu'elle a excité, des navires et vaiſſeaux qu'elle a fait perdre: et s'en vont de Labourt, Siboro, et S. Jean de Luz, juſques à Arcachon, qui eſt une des teſtes de l'Ocean, auſſi l'appellent ils la teſte de Buch, aſſés près de Bourdeaux, et en Terre-neuve, parce-qu'elles y voyent leurs pères, leurs maris, leurs enfans, et d'autres parens, et que c'eſt leur voyage ordinaire, meſme en a veu pluſieurs qui notoirement ſont en Terre-neuve

thrown without ſuſtaining any hurt. She had ſeen the frequenters of the Sabbath make themſelves appear as big as houſes, but ſhe had never ſeen them transform themſelves into animals, although there were animals of different kinds running about at the Sabbath.

Jeanette d'Abadie, an inhabitant of Siboro, of the age of ſixteen, ſaid that ſhe was taken for the firſt time to the Sabbath by a woman named Gratianne; that for the laſt nine months ſhe had watched and done all ſhe could to withdraw herſelf from this evil influence; that during the firſt three of theſe months, becauſe ſhe watched at home by night, the devil carried her away to the Sabbath in open day; and during the other ſix, until the 16th of September, 1609, ſhe had only gone to them twice, becauſe ſhe had watched, and ſtill watches in the church; and that the laſt time ſhe was there was the 13th of September, 1609, which ſhe narrated in a "bizarre and very terrible manner." It appears that, having watched in the church of Siboro during the night between Saturday and Sunday, at daybreak ſhe went to ſleep at home, and, during the time of the grand maſs, the devil came to her and ſnatched

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qu'elles menoyent au Sabbat. . . . . Quant à la transformation, dict qu'encore que parfois elles ſi faſſent voir hautes comme une maiſon, pourtant elle n'a jamais veu aucune d'elles ſe transformer en beſte en ſa préſence, mais ſeulement certaines beſtes courir par le Sabbat, et devenir grandes et petites, mais ſi ſoudainement qu'elle n'en a jamais pu decouvrir la façon. En voycy une plus ſçavante.

Jeannette d'Abadie, habitante de Siboro, aagée de ſeize ans, dépoſe qu'elle fut menée la première fois au Sabbat par une nommée Gratianne : qu'il y a environ neuf mois qu'elle veille et faict tout ce qu'elle peut pour ſe remédier : que puis les trois premiers mois deſdicts neuf, parce qu'elle veilloit la nuit chez elle, le Diable la menoit touſjours au Sabbat de plain jour : et les ſix mois reſtans juſque au 16 Septembre 1609, elle n'y eſt allée que deux fois, parce qu'elle a veillé et veille encore dans l'égliſe : et la dernière fois qu'elle y a eſté, ce fut le 13 de Septembre 1609, ce qu'elle conte d'une bizarre et bien terrible façon. Car elle dict qu'ayant veillé dans l'égliſe de Siboro, la nuict du Samedy venant au Dimanche, le jour venu, elle s'en alla dormir chez elle, et pendant qu'on diſoit la grande Meſſe, le Diable lui vint arracher un Higo de cuir qu'elle portoit au col, comme font uue infinité d'autres ; qui eſt une forme de main au point ſerré, le

from her neck a "fig of leather which ſhe wore there, as an infinity of other people did;" this *higo*, or fig, ſhe deſcribed as "a form of hand, with the fiſt cloſed, and the thumb paſſed between the two fingers, which they believe to be, and wear as, a remedy againſt all enchantment and witchcraft; and, becauſe the devil cannot bear this fiſt, ſhe ſaid that he did not dare to carry it away, but left it at the threſhold of the door of the room in which ſhe was ſleeping." This Jeanette ſaid, that the firſt time ſhe went to the Sabbath ſhe ſaw there the devil in the form of a man, black and hideous, with ſix horns on his head, and ſometimes eight, and a great tail behind, one face in front and another at the back of the head, as they paint the god Janus. Gratianne, on preſenting her, received as her reward a handful of gold; and then the child-victim was made to renounce her Creator, the Virgin, the baptiſm, father, mother, relatives, heaven, earth, and all that was in the world, and then ſhe was required to kiſs the fiend on the poſteriors. The renunciation ſhe was obliged to repeat every time ſhe went to the Sabbath. She added that the devil often made her kiſs his face, his navel, his member, and his poſteriors. She had often ſeen the children of witches baptized at the Sabbath.

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poulce paſſé entre les deux doigts, qu'elles croyent et portent comme remède à toute faſcination et ſortilège: et parce que le Diable ne peut ſouffrir ce poignet, elle dict qu'il ne l'oſa emporter, ains le laiſſa près du ſueil de la porte de la chambre dans laquelle elle dormoit. En revenant au commencement et à la première entrée qu'elle fut au Sabbat, elle dit qu'elle y vid le Diable en forme d'homme noir et hideux, avec ſix cornes en la teſte, parfois huict, et une grande queuë derrière, un viſage devant et un autre derrière la teſte, comme on peint le dieu Janus: que la dicte Gratianne, l'ayant préſentée, receut une poignée d'or en récompenſe, puis la fit renoncer et renier ſon Créateur, la Saincte Vierge, les Saincts, le Bapteſme, père, mère, parens, le ciel, la terre, et tout ce qui eſt au monde, laquelle renonciation il luy faiſoit renouveller toutes les fois qu'elle alloit au Sabbat, puis elle l'alloit baiſer au derrière. Que le Diable luy faiſoit baiſer ſouvent ſon viſage, puis ſon nombril, puis ſon membre, puis ſon errière. Qu'elle a veu ſouvent baptiſer des enfans au Sabbat, qu'elle nous expli-

Another ceremony was that of baptizing toads. Theſe animals perform a great part in theſe old popular orgies. At one of the Sabbaths, a lady danced with four toads on her perſon, one on each ſhoulder, and one on each wriſt, the latter perched like hawks. Jeanette d'Abadie went on further in her revelations in regard to ſtill more objectionable parts of the proceedings. She ſaid that,[1] with regard to their libidinous acts, ſhe had ſeen the aſſembly intermix inceſtuouſly, and contrary to all order of nature, accuſing even herſelf of having been robbed of her maidenhead by Satan, and of having been known an infinite number of times by a relation of hers, and by others, whoever would aſk her. She always ſought to avoid the embraces of the devil, becauſe it cauſed her an extreme pain, and ſhe added that what came from him was cold, and never produced pregnancy. Nobody ever became pregnant at the Sabbath. Away from the Sabbath, ſhe never committed a fault, but in the Sabbath ſhe took a marvellous pleaſure in theſe acts of ſexual intercourſe, which ſhe diſplayed by dwelling on the deſcription of them with a minuteneſs of detail, and language of ſuch obſcenity, as would have drawn a bluſh from the moſt depraved woman in the world. She deſcribed alſo the tables covered in

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qua eſtre des enfans des ſorcières et non autres, leſquelles ont accouſtumé faire pluſtot baptiſer leurs enfans au Sabbat, qu'en l'égliſe, et les préſenter au Diable pluſtoſt qu'à Dieu. *De l'Inconſtance des Mauvais Anges*, p. 128.

[1] Pour l'accouplement, qu'elle a veu tout le monde ſe meſler inceſtueuſement et contre tout ordre de nature, comme nous avons dict cy devant, s'accuſant elle meſme d'avoir eſté dépucellée par Satan et cognue une infinité de fois par un ſien parent et autres qui l'en daignoient ſemondre: qu'elle fuyoit l'accouplement du Diable, à cauſe qu'ayant ſon membre faict en eſcailles, il fait ſouffrir une extreſme douleur: outre que la ſemence eſt extrêmement froide, ſi bien qu'elle n'engroſſe jamais, ni celle des autres hommes au Sabbat, bien qu'elle ſoit naturelle: Que hors du Sabbat elle ne fit jamais faute, mais que dans le Sabbat elle avoit un merveilleux plaiſir en ces accouplemens autres que celui de Sathan, qu'elle diſoit eſtre horrible, voire elle nous teſmoignoit un merveilleux plaiſir à le dire, et le conter, nommant toutes choſes par

appearance with proviſions, which, however, proved either unſubſtantial or of a diſguſting nature.

This witneſs further declared that ſhe had ſeen at the Sabbath a number of little demons without arms, who were employed in kindling a great fire, into which they threw the witches, who came out without being burnt; and ſhe had alſo ſeen the grand maſter of the aſſembly throw himſelf into a fire, and remain there until he was burnt to powder, which powder was uſed by the witches to bewitch young children, and cauſe them to go willingly to the Sabbath. She had ſeen prieſts who were well-known, and gave the names of ſome of them, performing the ſervice of the maſs at the Sabbath, while the demons took their places on the altar in the forms of ſaints. Sometimes the devil pierced the left foot of a ſorcerer under the little toe, and drew blood, which he ſucked, and

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leur nom plus librement et effrontément que nous ne luy oſions faire demander, choſe qui confirme merveilleuſement la réalité du Sabbat. Car il eſt plus vrayſemblable qu'elle ſe ſoit accouplée au Sabbat avec des gens qu'elle nommoit, que non, que Satan les y ait faict voir dans ſon lict par illuſion, ou qu'il les luy ait portez corporellement : n'ayant peu ſentir cent fois (comme elle dict) cette ſemence naturelle que s'accouplant corporellement et réellement avec un homme naturel qu'elle nous a nommé qui eſt encore vivant. Qu'elle y a veu des tables dreſſées avec forces vivres, mais quand on en vouloit prendre on ne trouvoit rien ſoubs la main, ſauf quand on y avoit porté des enfans baptiſez ou non baptiſez, car de ces deux elle en avoit veu fort ſouvent ſervir et manger : meſme un qu'on tenait eſtre fils de maiſtre de Laſſe. Qu'on les coupe à quartiers au Sabbat pour en faire part à pluſieurs parroiſſes.

D'avantage dict qu'elle a veu pluſieurs petits démons ſans bras, allumer un grand feu, jetter des ſorcières du ſabbat là dedans, et, les retirant ſans douleur, le Diable leur dire qu'elles n'auroient non plus de mal du feu d'Enfer. Qu'elle a veu le grand maiſtre de l'aſſemblée ſe jetter dans les flammes au Sabbat, ſe faire bruſler juſques à ce qu'il eſtoit reduit en poudre, et les grandes et inſignes ſorcières prendre les dites poudres pour enſorceler les petits enfants et les mener au Sabbat, et en prenoient auſſi dans la bouche pour ne reveler jamais; et a veu pareillement ce mauvais démon au Sabbat ſe réduire tout en menus vers. Qu'elle a ouy dire ſouvent meſſe à quelques preſtres et entre autres à Migualena et Bocal, veſtus de rouge et de blanc : que le maiſtre de l'aſſemblée et autres petits démons eſtoient ſur l'autel en forme de ſaincts : que pour

after this that individual could never be drawn to make a confeſſion; and ſhe named, as an example, a prieſt named François de Bideguaray, of Bordegaina, who, in fact, could not be made to confeſs. She named many other perſons whom ſhe had ſeen at the Sabbaths, and eſpecially one named Anduitze, whoſe office it was to ſummon the witches and ſorcerers to the meeting.

De Lancre ſays that many others, in their depoſitions, ſpoke of the extreme pleaſures and enjoyments experienced in theſe Sabbaths, which made men and women repair to them with the greateſt eagerneſs. "The woman indulged before the face of her huſband without ſuſpicion or jealouſy, he even frequently acted the part of procurer; the father deprived his daughter of her virginity without ſhame; the mother acted the ſame part towards her ſon; the brother towards his ſiſter; fathers and mothers carried thither and preſented their children."

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aller au Sabbat elle ne laiſſoit d'aller à l'égliſe, mais elle trembloit quand elle y voyoit faire l'eſlevation, et tremble encore toutes les fois qu'elle la voit. Et quand elle ſe veut approcher du crucifix, pour luy baiſer les pieds, elle devient tout eſperdue et troublée, ſans ſçavoir quelle prière elle fait, parcequ'elle voit en meſme inſtant comme une perſonne noire et hideuſe qui eſt tout au bas et au deſſoubs des pieds dudict crucifix, qui faict contenance de l'en empeſcher. Quant aux ſorciers qui ne confeſſent ny à la torture ny au ſupplice, elle dict avoir veu que le Diable leur perce le pied gauche avec un poinçon et leur tire un peu de ſang au deſſoubs du petit doigt dudict pied gauche, lequel ſang il ſucce, et celuy là ne confeſſe jamais choſe qui concerne le ſortilège: ce qu'elle a veu pratiquer en la perſonne de maiſtre François de Bideguaray, preſtre au lieu appellé à Bordegaina, où le Sabbat a accouſtumé ſe tenir, ſi bien qu'elle nous a dict qu'il ne confeſſeroit jamais. Qu'elle a veu au Sabbat entre une infinité qu'elle nomme et cognoiſt, un nommé Anduitze, qui eſt celuy qui va donner les aſſignations aux ſorcières pour ſe trouver au Sabbat. . . .

Et pluſieurs autres nous ont dict que les plaiſirs et la joye y ſont ſi grands et de tant de ſortes, qu'il n'y a homme ny femme qui n'y coure très-volontiers. . . . La femme ſe joue en préſence de ſon mary ſans ſoupçon ni jalouſie, voire il en eſt ſouvent le proxenete: le père dépucelle ſa fille ſans vergogne: la mère arrache le pucelage du fils ſans crainte: le frère de la ſoeur; on y voit les pères et mères porter et préſenter leurs enfans. *De l'Inconſtance*, p. 132.

The dances at the Sabbath were moſtly indecent, including the well-known Sarabande, and the women danced in them ſometimes in chemiſe, but much more frequently quite naked. They conſiſted eſpecially in violent movements; and the devil often joined in them, taking the handſomeſt woman or girl for his partner. De Lancre's account of theſe dances is ſo minute and curious that it may be given in his own words.[1] "If the ſaying is true that never woman or girl returned from the ball as chaſte as ſhe went there, how unclean muſt ſhe return who has abandoned herſelf to the unfortunate deſign of going to the ball of the demons and evil ſpirits, who has danced in hand with them, who has kiſſed them obſcenely, who has yielded herſelf to them as a prey, has adored them, and has even copulated with them? It is to be, in good earneſt, inconſtant and fickle; it is to be not only lewd, or even a ſhameleſs whore, but to be ſtark-mad, unworthy of the favours with which God loads her in bringing her into the world, and cauſing her to be born a Chriſtian. We cauſed in ſeveral places the boys and girls to dance in the ſame faſhion as they danced at the Sabbath, as much to deter them from ſuch uncleanneſs, by convincing them to what a degree the moſt modeſt of theſe movements was filthy, vile, and unbecoming in a virtuous girl, as alſo becauſe, when

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[1] Et s'il eſt vray ce qu'on dit que jamais femme ny fille ne revint du bal ſi chaſte comme elle y eſt allée, combien immonde revient celle qui s'eſt abandonnée, et a prins ce mal-heureux deſſain d'aller au bal des démons et mauvais eſprits, qui a dancé à leur main, qui les a ſi ſalement baiſez, qui s'eſt donnée à eux en proye, les a adorez, et s'eſt meſme accouplée avec eux? C'eſt eſtre à bon eſcient inconſtante et volage: c'eſt eſtre non ſeulement impudique, voire putain effrontée, mais bien folle enragée, inbigne des graces que Dieu luy avoit faict et verſé ſur elle, lors qu'il la mit au monde, et la fiſt naiſtre chreſtienne. Nous fiſmes en pluſieurs lieux dancer les enfans et filles en la meſme façon qu'elles dançoient au Sabbat, tant pour les déterrer d'une telle ſaleté, leur faiſant recognoiſtre combien le plus modeſte mouvement eſtoit ſale, vilain, et malſéant à une honneſte fille, qu'auſſi par-ce qu'au confrontement la plus part des

accuſed, the greater part of the witches, charged with having among other things danced in hand with the devil, and ſometimes led the dance, denied it all, and ſaid that the girls were deceived, and that they could not have known how to expreſs the forms of dance which they ſaid they had ſeen at the Sabbath. They were boys and girls of a fair age, who had already been in the way of ſalvation before our commiſſion. In truth ſome of them were already quite out of it, and had gone no more to the Sabbath for ſome time; others were ſtill ſtruggling to eſcape, and, held ſtill by one foot, ſlept in the churches, confeſſed and communicated, in order to withdraw themſelves entirely from Satan's claws. Now it is ſaid that they dance always with their backs turned to the centre of the dance, which is the cauſe that the girls are ſo accuſtomed to carry their hands behind them in this round dance, that they draw into it the whole body, and give it a bend curved backwards, having their arms half turned; ſo that moſt of them have the belly commonly great, puſhed forward, and ſwollen, and a little inclining in front. I know not whether this be cauſed by the dance or by the ordure and wretched proviſions they are made to eat. But the fact is, they dance very ſeldom one by one, that is one man alone

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ſorcières accuſées d'avoir entre autres choſes dancée à la main du Diable, et parfois mené la dance, nioyent tout, et diſoient que les filles eſtoient abuſées, et qu'elles n'euſſent ſceu exprimer les formes de dance qu'elles diſoient avoir veu au Sabbat. C'eſtoient des enfans et filles de bon aage, et qui eſtoient desjà en voye de ſalut avant noſtre commiſſion. A la vérité aucunes en eſtoient dehors tout à faict, et n'alloyent plus au Sabbat il y avoit quelque temps : les autres eſtoient encore à ſe débatre ſur la perche, et attachez par un pied, dormoient dans les égliſes, ſe confeſſoient et communioient, pour s'oſter du tout des pattes de Satan. Or on dict qu'on y dance tousjours le dos tourné au centre de la dance, qui faict que les filles ſont ſi accouſtumées à porter les mains en arrière en ceſte dance ronde, qu'elles y trainent tout le corps, et luy donnent un ply courbé en arrière, ayant les bras à demy tournez : ſi bien que la plus part ont le ventre communement grand, enflé et avancé, et un peu penchant ſur le devant. Je ne ſçay ſi la dance leur cauſe cela ou l'ordure et meſchantes viandes qu'on leur fait manger. Au reſte on y dance fort peu ſouvent un à

with one woman or girl, as we do in our galliards; ſo they have told and aſſured us, that they only danced there three ſorts of branles, or brawls, uſually turning their ſhoulders to one another, and the back of each looking towards the round of the dance, and the face turned outwards. The firſt is the Bohemian dance, for the wandering Bohemians are alſo half devils; I mean thoſe long-haired people without country, who are neither Egytians (gipſies), nor of the kingdom of Bohemia, but are born everywhere, as they purſue their route, and paſs countries, in the fields, and under the trees, and they go about dancing and playing conjuring tricks, as at the Sabbath. So they are numerous in the country of Labourd, on account of the eaſy paſſage from Navarre and Spain.

"The ſecond is with jumping, as our working men practiſe in towns and villages, along the ſtreets and fields; and theſe two are in round. The third is alſo with the back turned, but all holding together in length, and, without diſengaging hands, they approach ſo near as to touch, and meet back to back, a man with a woman; and at a certain cadence they puſh and ſtrike together immodeſtly their two poſteriors. And it was alſo told us that the devil, in his

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un, c'eſt à dire un homme ſeul avec une femme ou fille, comme nous faiſons en nos gaillardes: ains elles nous ont dict et aſſeuré, qu'on n'y dançoit que trois ſortes de branſles, communement ſe tournant les eſpaules l'un l'autre, et le dos d'un chaſcun viſant dans le rond de la dance, et le viſage en dehors. La première c'eſt à la Bohémienne, car auſſi les Bohèmes coureurs ſont à demy diables: je dy ces long poils ſans patrie, qui ne ſont ny Ægyptiens, ny du royaume de Bohème, ains ils naiſſent par tout en chemin faiſant et paſſant païs, et dans les champs, et ſoubs les arbres, et font les dances et baſtelages à demy comme au Sabbat. Auſſi ſont ils fréquens au païs de Labourt, pour l'aiſance du paſſage de Navarre et de l'Eſpagne.

La ſeconde c'eſt à ſauts, comme noz artiſans font ès villes et villages, par les rues et par les champs: et ces deux ſont en rond. Et la troiſieſme eſt auſſi le dos tourné, mais ſe tenant tous en long, et, ſans ſe deprendre des mains, ils s'approchent de ſi près qu'ils ſe touchent, et ſe rencontrent dos à dos, un homme avec une femme: et à certaine cadence ils ſe choquent et frapent inpudemment cul contre cul. Mais auſſi il nous fut dit que le Diable bizarre ne les faiſoit pas tous mettre rangément le dos tourné

ſtrange humours, did not cauſe them all to be placed in order, with their backs turned towards the crown of the dance, as is commonly ſaid by everybody; but one having the back turned, and the other not, and ſo on to the end of the dance. . . . They dance to the ſound of the tabor and flute, and ſometimes with the long inſtrument they carry at the neck, and thence ſtretching to near the girdle, which they beat with a little ſtick; ſometimes with a violin (fiddle). But theſe are not the only inſtruments of the Sabbath, for we have learnt from many of them that all ſorts of inſtruments are ſeen there, with ſuch harmony that their is no concert in the world to be compared to it."

Nothing is more remarkable than the ſort of prurient curioſity with which theſe honeſt commiſſioners interrogated the witneſſes as to the ſexual peculiarities and capabilities of the demon, and the ſort of ſatisfaction with which De Lancre reduces all this to writing.[1] They all tend to ſhow the identity of theſe orgies with thoſe of the ancient worſhip of Priapus, who is undoubtedly figured in the Satan of the Sabbath. The young witch, Jeannette d'Abadie, told how ſhe had ſeen at the Sabbath men and women in promiſcuous intercourſe, and how the devil arranged them in couples, in the moſt unnatural conjunctions—the daughter with the father, the mother with her ſon, the ſiſter with the brother, the daughter-in-law with

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vers la couronne de la dance, comme communement dict tout le monde : ains l'un ayant le dos tourné, et l'autre non : et ainſi tout à ſuite juſqu'à la fin de la dance. . . . . Or elles dancent au ſon du petit tabourin et de la fluſte, et parfois avec ce long inſtrument qui'ls portent ſur le col, puis s'allongeant jusqu'auprès de la ceinture, ils le batent avec un petit baſton : parfois avec un violon. Mais ce ne ſont les ſeuls inſtrumens du Sabbat, car nous avons apprins de pluſieurs qu'on y oyt toute ſorte d'inſtrumens, avec une telle harmonie qu'il n'y a concert au monde qui le puiſſe eſgaler. *De l'Inconſtance, &c.*, p. 209.

[1] Jeannette d'Abadie, aagée de ſeize ans, dict, qu'elle a veu hommes et femmes ſe meſler promiſcuement au Sabbat : que le Diable leur commandoit de s'accoupler et ſe joindre, leur baillant à chacun tout ce que la nature abhorre le plus, ſçavoir la fille

the father-in-law, the penitent with her confeſſor, without diſtinction of age, quality, or relationſhip, ſo that ſhe confeſſed to having been known an infinity of times at the Sabbath by a couſin-german of her mother, and by an infinite number of others. After repeating much that ſhe had ſaid before relating to the impudicity of the Sabbath, this girl ſaid that ſhe had been deflowered by the devil at the age of thirteen—twelve was the common age for this—that they never became pregnant, either by him or by any of the wizards of the Sabbath; that ſhe had never felt anything come from the devil except the firſt time, when it was very cold, but that with the ſorcerers it was as with other men. That the devil choſe the handſomeſt of the women and girls for himſelf, and one he uſually made his queen for the meeting. That they ſuffered extremely when he had intercourſe with them, in conſequence of his member being covered with ſcales like thoſe of a fiſh. That when extended it was

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au père, le fils à la mère, la ſoeur au frère, la filleulle au parrain, la pénitente à ſon confeſſeur, ſans diſtinction d'aage, de qualité, ni de parentelle : de ſorte qu'elle confeſſoit librement avoir eſté connue une infinité de fois au Sabbat, par un couſin germain de ſa mère et par une infinité d'autres : que c'eſt une perpétuelle ordure, en laquelle tout le monde s'eſgayoit comme elle : que hors du Sabbat elle ne fit jamais de faute : qu'elle le faiſoit tout autant de fois que le Diable le luy commandoit, et indifféremment avec toute ſorte de gens : ayant eſté dépucellée au Sabbat puis l'aage de treize ans : que le Diable les conviant et forçant de faire ceſte faute, ſoit avec luy, ſoit avec des gens de rencontre en ces aſſemblées, la faute n'eſtoit ſienne : que de ces accouplemens on ne s'engroſſoit jamais, ſoit qu'ils fuſſent avec le maiſtre, ſoit avec d'autres ſorciers : ce que pourtant pluſieurs exemples dans nos hiſtoires rendent extrêmement incertain et douteux : qu'on n'y ſent que déplaiſir : qu'elle n'a jamais ſenty qu'il euſt aucune ſemence, ſauf quand il la dépucella qu'elle la ſentit froide, mais que celle des autres hommes qui l'ont cognuë eſt naturelle : qu'il ſe choiſit et trie les plus belles ; et de vray toutes celles que nous avons veu qualifiées de ce tiltre de roynes eſtoient doüées de quelque beauté plus ſingulière que les autres. Si bien que celle Detſail à Urrogne, lorſqu'elle fut exécutée à mort, mourut ſi deſdaigneuſement que le bourreau de Bayonne, jeune et de belle forme, voulant extorquer d'elle, comme c'eſt la couſtume, le baiſer du pardon, elle ne voulut jamais profaner ſa belle bouche qui avoit accouſtumée d'eſtre colée au derrière du Diable. Dict d'avantage que, lors

a yard long, but that it was uſually twiſted. Marie d'Aſpilcuette, a girl between nineteen and twenty years of age, who alſo confeſſed to having had frequent connection with Satan, deſcribed his member as about half a yard long, and moderately large. Marguerite, a girl of Sare, between ſixteen and ſeventeen, deſcribed it as reſembling that of a mule, and as being as long and thick as one's arm. More on this ſubject the reader will find in De Lancre's own text, given in the note below. The devil, we are further told, preferred

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que le Diable les cognoiſt charnellement, elles ſouffrent une extrême douleur, les ayant ouyes crier, et, au ſortir de l'acte, les ayant veües revenir au Sabbat toutes ſanglantes ſe plaignant de douleur, laquelle vient de ce que le membre du Démon eſtant faict à eſcailles comme un poiſſon, elles ſe reſerrent en entrant, et ſe levent et piquent en ſortant: c'eſt pour quoy elles fuyent ſemblables rencontres.

Que le membre du Diable, s'il eſtoit eſtendu, eſt long environ d'une aulne, mais il le tient entortillé et ſinüeux en forme de ſerpent: que ſouvent il interpoſe quelque nuée quand il veut ſe joindre à quelque femme ou fille. Qu'elle a veu le Diable avec pluſieurs perſonnes au Sabbat qu'elle nous a nommé, et que ſi veux taire pour certain raiſon. Et en fin qu'elle avoit auſſi eſté dépucellée par luy des l'aage de treize ans, et depuis cognue pluſieurs fois en forme d'homme, et en meſme façon que les autres hommes ont accouſtumé de coignoiſtre leurs eſpouſes, mais avec une extreſme douleur, par les raiſons cy deſſus deduictes: qu'elle a veu faire tous ces accouplemens une infinité de fois, par ce que celles qui le mauvais Démon a cognuës voyent fort bien quand le Diable en cognoiſt d'autres. Mais il a quelque vergongne de faire voir cette vilennie à celles avec leſquelles il n'a encore eu acointance: qui eſt cauſe qu'il leur met au devant cette nuée.

Marie d'Aſpilcuette, fille de dix-neuf à vingt ans, diſoit le meſme, pour ce qui eſt du membre en eſcailles, mais elle dépoſoit que lors qu'il les vouloit cognoiſtre, il quitoit la forme de bouc et prenoit celle d'homme. Que les ſorciers au Sabbat prenoient chacun telle femme ou fille que bon luy ſembloit, et à la veüe de tout le monde: qu'on n'y eſt jamais refuſé, et que les maris ſouffrent que le Diable, ou qui que ce ſoit du Sabbat, jouiſſe de ſa femme tout devant lui, et que le mari meſme parfois s'exerce avec ſa femme: que le membre du Diable eſt long environ la moitié d'une aulne, de médiocre groſſeur, rouge, obſcur, et tortu, fort rude et comme piquant.

En voicy d'une autre ſorte. Marguerite, fille de Sare, aagée de ſeize à dixſept ans, dépoſe que le Diable, ſoit qu'il ayt la forme d'homme, ou qu'il ſoit en forme de bouc, a tousjours un membre de mulet, ayant choiſi en imitation celuy de cet

married women to girls, becauſe there was more ſin in the connection, adultery being a greater crime than ſimple fornication.

In order to give ſtill more truthfulneſs to his account of the Sabbath, De Lancre cauſed all the facts gathered from the confeſſions of his victims to be embodied in a picture which illuſtrates the ſecond edition of his book, and which places the whole ſcene before us ſo vividly that we have had it re-engraved in facſimile as an illuſtration to the preſent eſſay.[1] The different groups are, as will be ſeen, indicated by capital letters. At A we have Satan in his gilt pulpit, with five horns, the one in the middle lighted, for the purpoſe of giving light to all the candles and fires at the Sabbath. B is the queen of the Sabbath, ſeated at his right hand, while another favorite, though in leſs degree, ſits on the other ſide. C, a witch preſenting a child which ſhe has ſeduced. D, the witches, each with her demon, ſeated at table. E, a party of four witches and ſorcerers, who are only admitted as ſpectators, and are not allowed

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animal comme le mieux pourveu : qu'il l'a long et gros comme le bras : que quand il veut cognoiſtre quelque fille ou femme au Sabbat, comme il faict preſque à chaſque aſſemblée, il faict paroiſtre quelque forme de liƈt de ſoye, ſur lequel il faict ſemblant de les coucher, qu'elles n'y prennent point de déplaiſir, comme ont dict ces premières : et que jamais il ne paroiſt au Sabbat en quelque aƈtion que ce ſoit, qu'il n'ait touſjours ſon inſtrument dehors, de cette belle forme et méſure : tout à rebours de ce que dit Boguet, que celles de ſon païs ne luy ont veu guière plus long que le doigt et gros ſimplement à proportion : ſi bien que les ſorcières de Labourt ſont mieux ſervies de Satan que celles de la Franche-Conté.

Marie de Marigrane, fille de Biarrix, aagée de quinze ans, dit, Qu'il ſemble que ce mauvais Démon ait ſon membre my party, moitié de fer, moitié de chair, tout de ſon long, et de meſme les genitoires, et dépoſe l'avoir veu en cette forme pluſieurs fois au Sabbat : et outre ce l'avoit ouy dire à des femmes que Satan avoit cognues : qu'il les fait crier comme des femmes qui ſont en mal d'enfant : et qu'il tient touſjours ſon membre dehors.

Petry de Linarre diƈt que le Diable a le membre faiƈt de corne, ou pour le moins il en a l'apparence, c'eſt pourquoy il faiƈt tant crier les femmes. *De l'Inconſtance*, p. 223.

[1] See our plate xl.

to approach the great ceremonies. F, "according to the old proverb, *Après la pance, vient la dance*," the witches and their demons have riſen from table, and are here engaged in one of the deſcriptions of dances mentioned above. G, the players on inſtruments, who furniſh the muſic to which the witches dance. H, a troop of women and girls, who dance with their faces turned outwards from the round of the dance. I, the cauldron on the fire, to make all ſorts of poiſons and noxious compounds. K, during theſe proceedings, many witches are ſeen arriving at the Sabbath on ſtaffs and broomſticks, and others on goats, bringing with them children to offer to Satan; others are departing from the Sabbath, carried through the air to the ſea and diſtant parts, where they will raiſe ſtorms and tempeſts. L, "the great lords and ladies and other rich and powerful people, who treat on the grand affairs of the Sabbath, where they appear veiled, and the women with maſks, that they may remain always concealed and unknown." Laſtly, at M, we ſee the young children, at ſome diſtance from the buſy part of the ceremonies, taking charge of the toads.

In reviewing the extraordinary ſcenes which are developed in theſe witch-depoſitions, we are ſtruck not only with their general reſemblance among themſelves, although told in different countries, but alſo with the ſtriking points of identity between the proceedings of the Sabbath and the ſecret aſſemblies with which the Templars were charged. We have in both the initiatory preſentation, the denial of Chriſt, and the homage to the new maſter, ſealed by the obſcene kiſs. This is juſt what might be expected. In preſerving ſecretly a religious worſhip after the open practice of it had been proſcribed, it would be natural, if not neceſſary, to require of the initiated a ſtrong denial of the new and intruſive faith, with acts as well as words which compromiſed him entirely in what he was doing. The maſs and weight of the evidence certainly goes to prove that ſuch ſecret rites did prevail among the Templars,

though it is not equally evident that they prevailed throughout the order; and the ſimilarity of the revelations of the witch-confeſſions, in all countries where they were taken, ſeems to ſhow that there was in them alſo a foundation in truth. We look upon it as not admitting of doubt, that the Priapic orgies and the other periodical aſſemblies for worſhip of this deſcription, which we have deſcribed in an earlier part of this eſſay, were continued long after the fall of the Roman power and the introduction of the Chriſtian religion. The ruſtic population, moſtly ſervile, whoſe morals or private practices were little heeded by the other claſſes of ſociety, might, in a country ſo thinly peopled, aſſemble by night in retired places without any fear of obſervation. There they perhaps indulged in Priapic rites, followed by the old Priapic orgies, which would become more and more debaſed in form, but through the effects of exciting potions, as deſcribed by Michelet,[1] would have become wilder than ever. They became, as Michelet deſcribes them, the Saturnalia of the ſerf. The ſtate of mind produced by theſe excitements would lead thoſe who partook in them to believe eaſily in the actual preſence of the beings they worſhipped, who, according to the Church doctrines, were only ſo many devils. Hence aroſe the diabolical agency in the ſcene. Thus we eaſily obtain all the materials and all the incidents of the witches' Sabbath. Where this older worſhip was preſerved among the middle or more elevated claſſes of ſociety, who had other means of ſecrecy at their command, it would take a leſs vulgar form, and would ſhow itſelf in the formation of concealed ſects and ſocieties, ſuch as thoſe of the different forms of Gnoſticiſm, of the Stadingers, of the Templars, and of other leſs important ſecret clubs, of a more or leſs immoral character, which continued no doubt to exiſt long after what we

[1] See Michelet, *La Sorcière*, liv. i, c. 9, on the uſe and the effects of the Solaneæ, to which he attributes much of the deluſions of the Sabbath.

call the middle ages had paſſed away. As we have before intimated, theſe mediæval practices prevailed moſt in Gaul and the South, where the influence of Roman manners and ſuperſtitions was greateſt.

The worſhip of the reproductive organs as repreſenting the fertilizing, protecting, and ſaving powers of nature, apart from theſe ſecret rites, prevailed univerſally, as we have traced it fully in the preceding pages, and we only recur to that part of the ſubject to ſtate that perhaps the laſt traces of it now to be found in our iſlands is met with on the weſtern ſhores of Ireland. Off the coaſt of Mayo, there is a ſmall iſland named Inniſkea, the inhabitants of which are a very primitive and uncultivated race, and which, although it takes its name from a female ſaint (it is the *inſula ſanctæ Geidhe* of the Hibernian hagiographers), does not contain a ſingle Catholic prieſt. Its inhabitants, indeed, as we learn from an intereſting communication to *Notes and Queries* by Sir J. Emerſon Tennent,[1] are mere idolaters, and their idol, no doubt the repreſentative of Priapus, is a long cylindrical ſtone, which they call *Neevougee*. This idol is kept wrapped in flannel, and is entruſted to the care of an old woman, who acts as the prieſteſs. It is brought out and worſhipped at certain periods, when ſtorms diſturb the fiſhing, by which chiefly the population of the iſland obtain a living, or at other times it is expoſed for the purpoſe of raiſing ſtorms which may cauſe wrecks to be thrown on the coaſt of the iſland. I am informed that the name *Neevougee* is merely the plural of a word ſignifying a canoe, and it may perhaps have ſome reference to the calling of fiſhermen.

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[1] *Notes and Queries*, for 1852, vol. v, p. 121.

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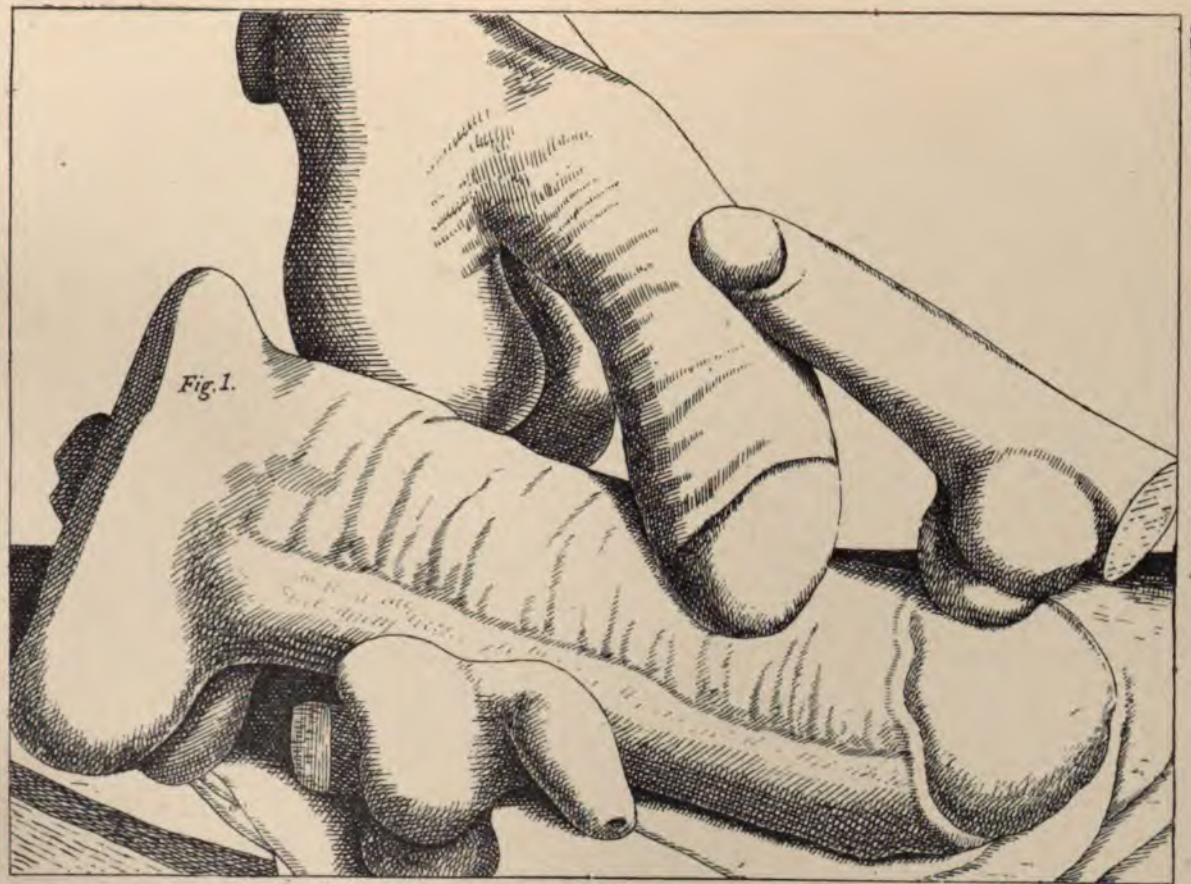
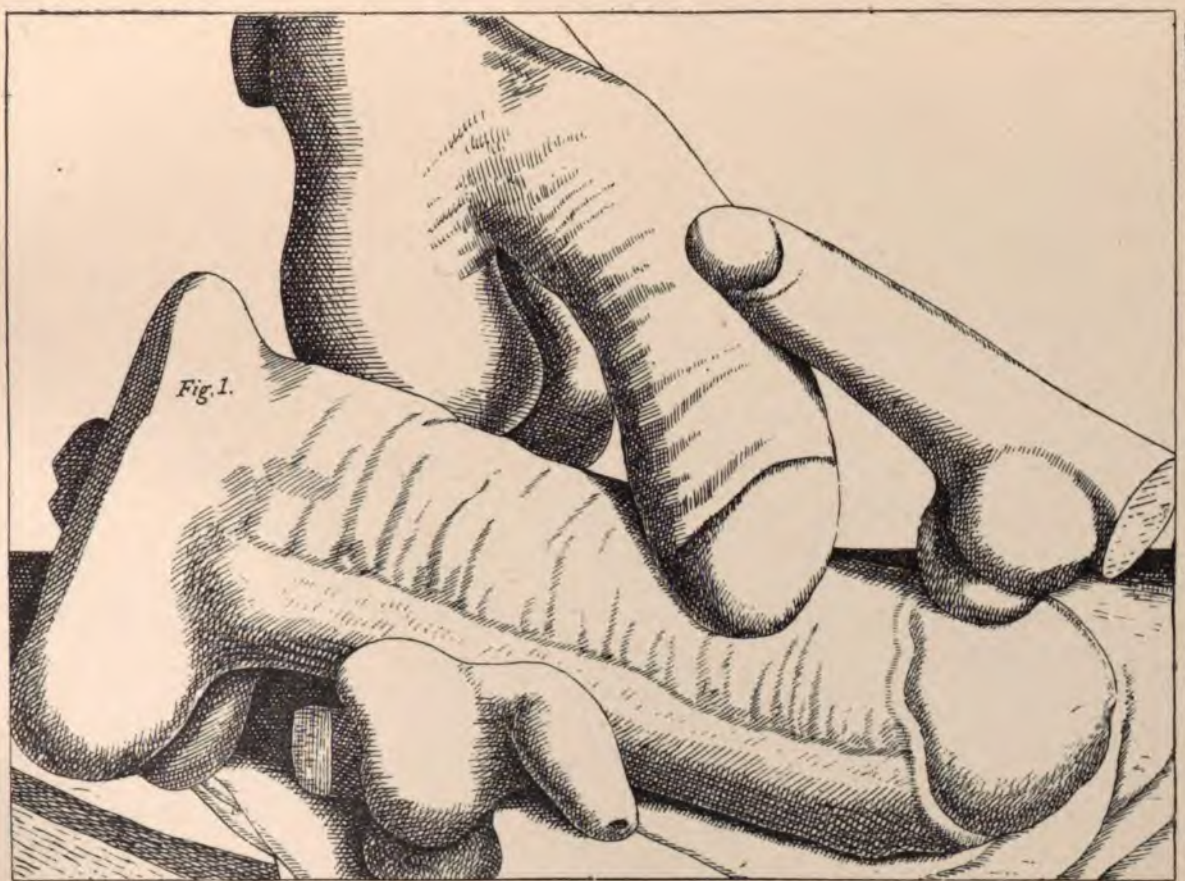


Ex-Voti of Wax presented in the Church at Isernia in 1780

PLATE I.



Ex-Voti of Wax presented in the Church at Isernia in 1780

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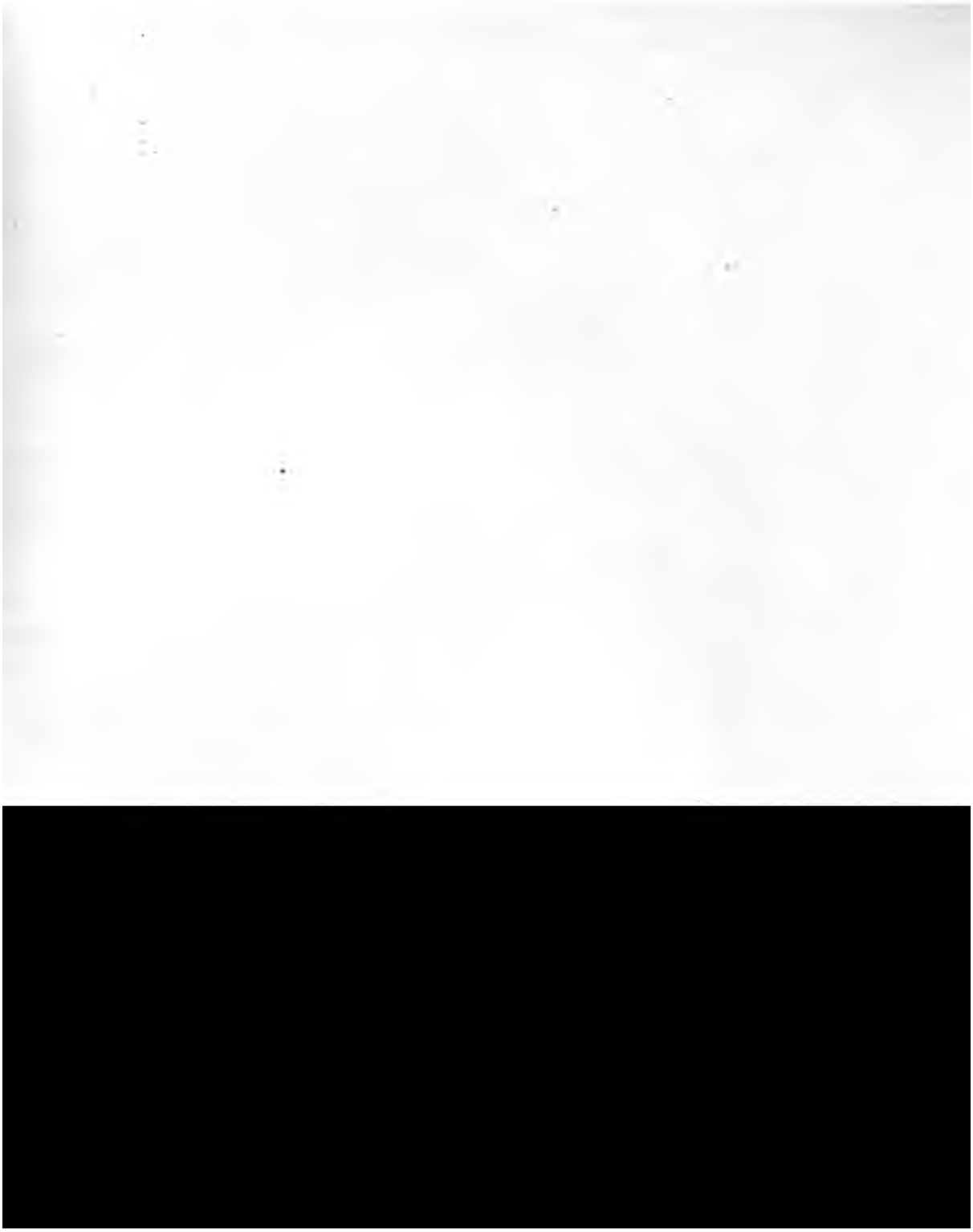

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PLATE V.

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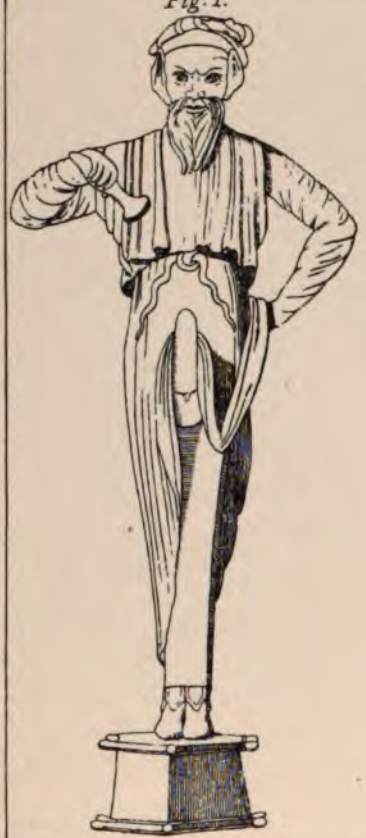

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PLATE VI.

PLATE VII

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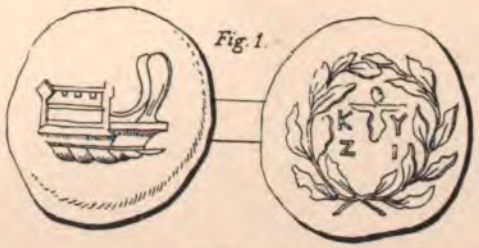
PLATE IX



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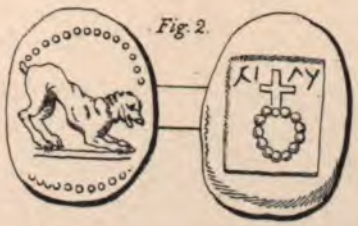

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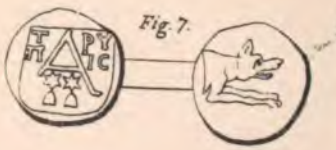

Fig. 7.

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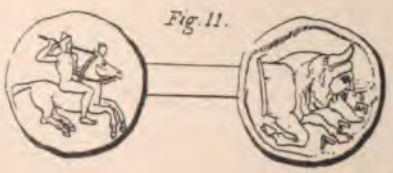

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PLATE X.

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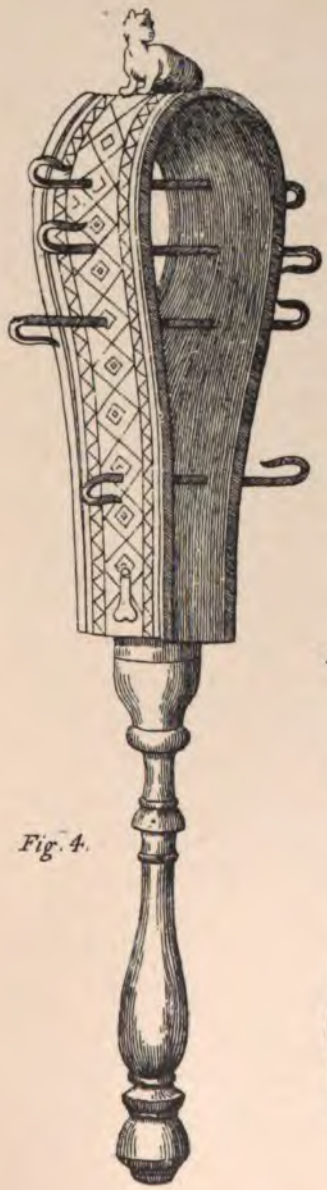

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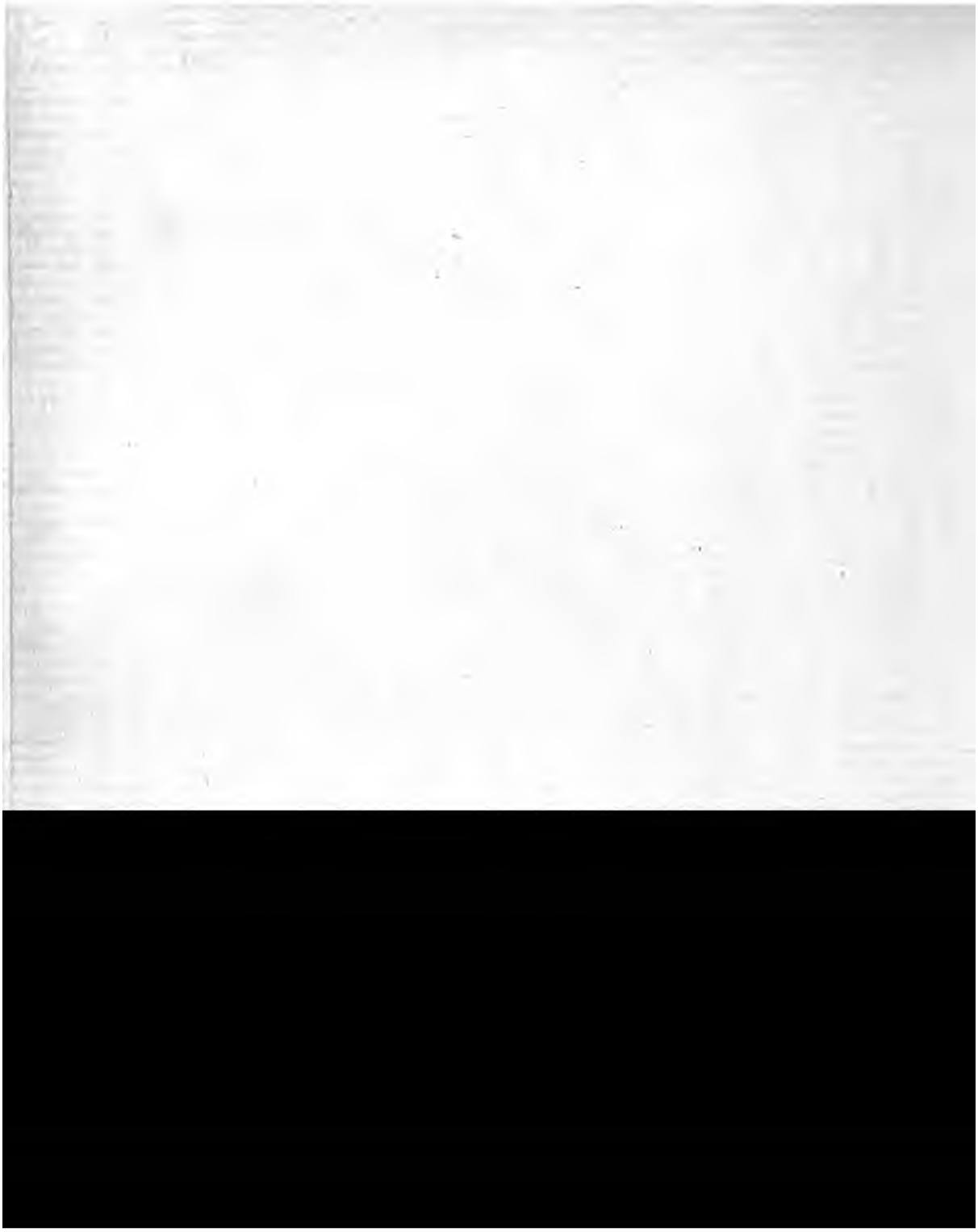

PLATE XI.

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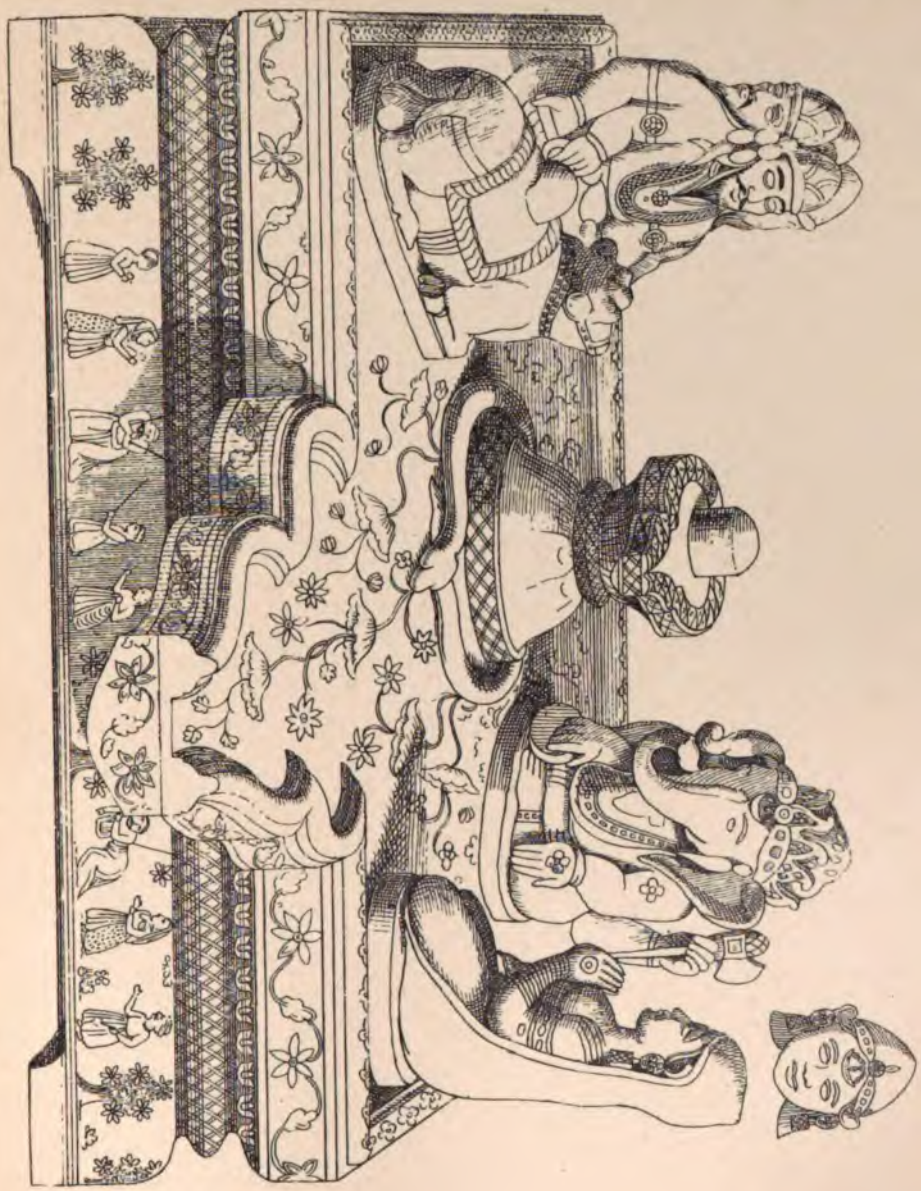

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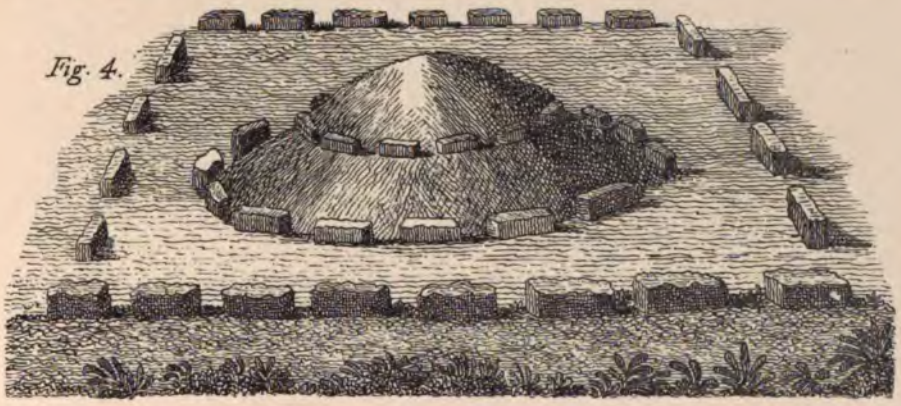

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PLATE XIV.

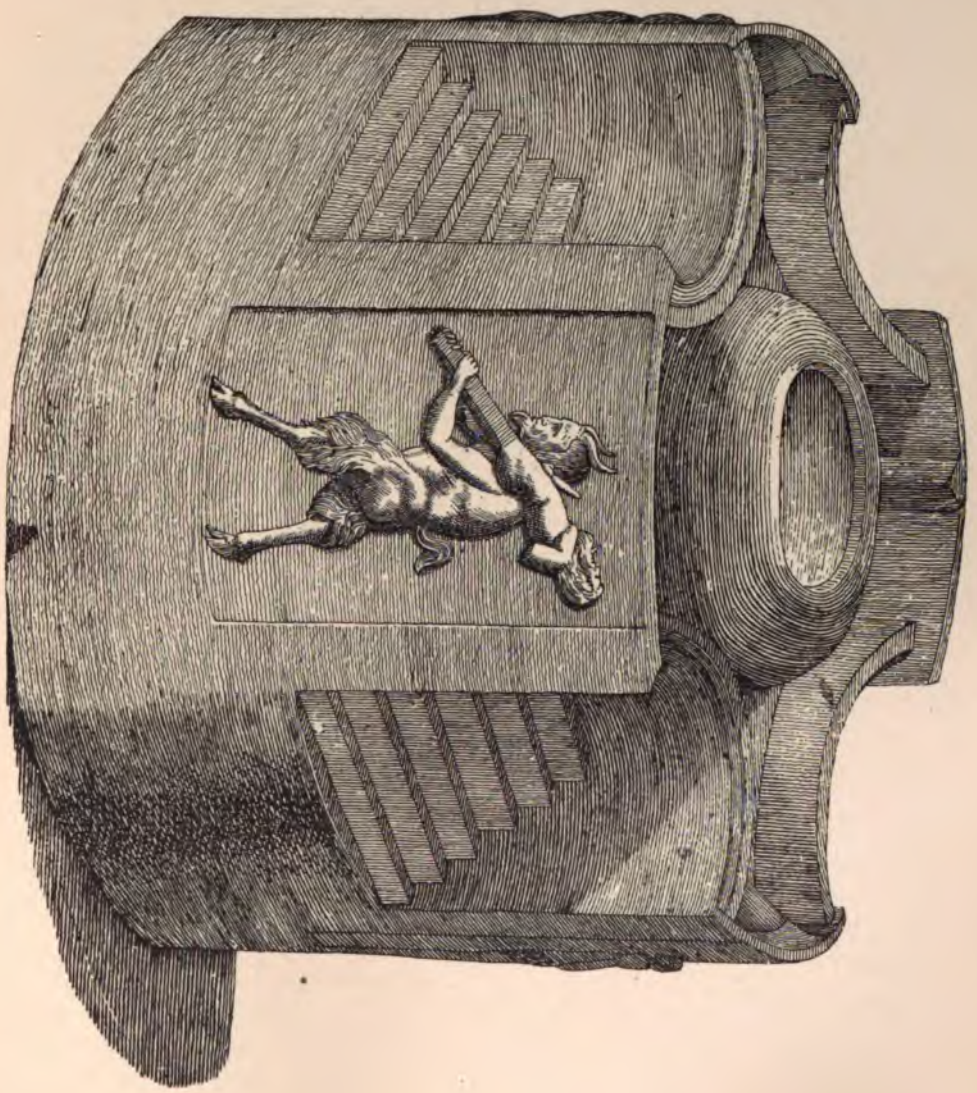

PLATE XV

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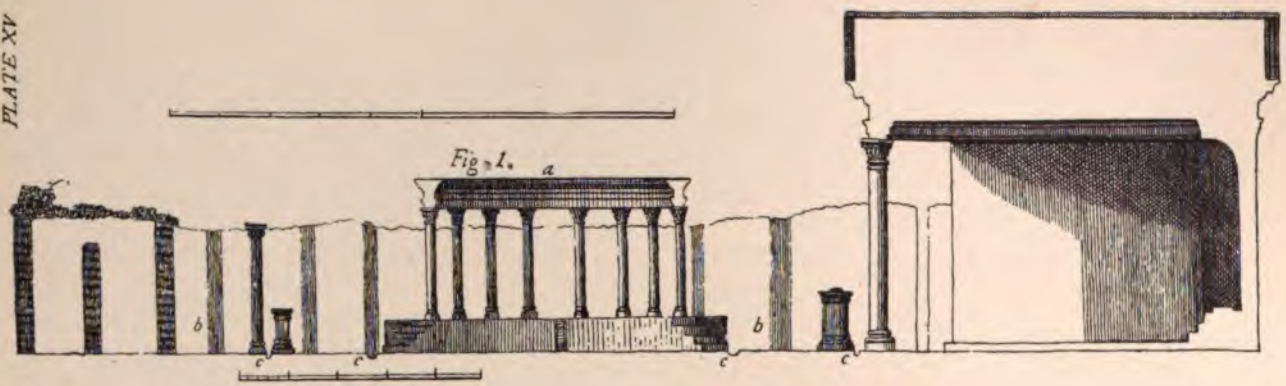

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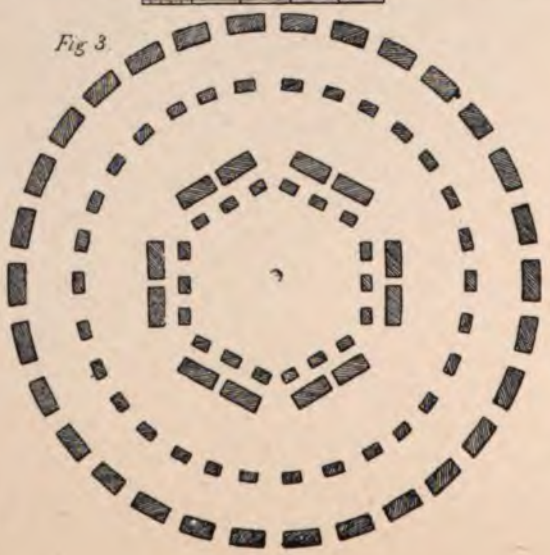

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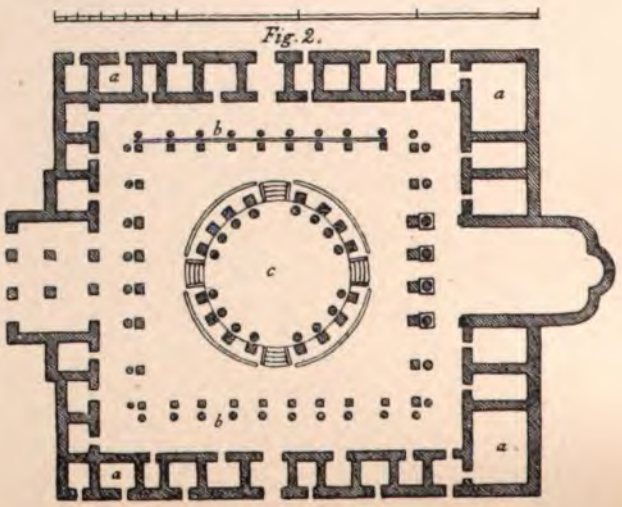

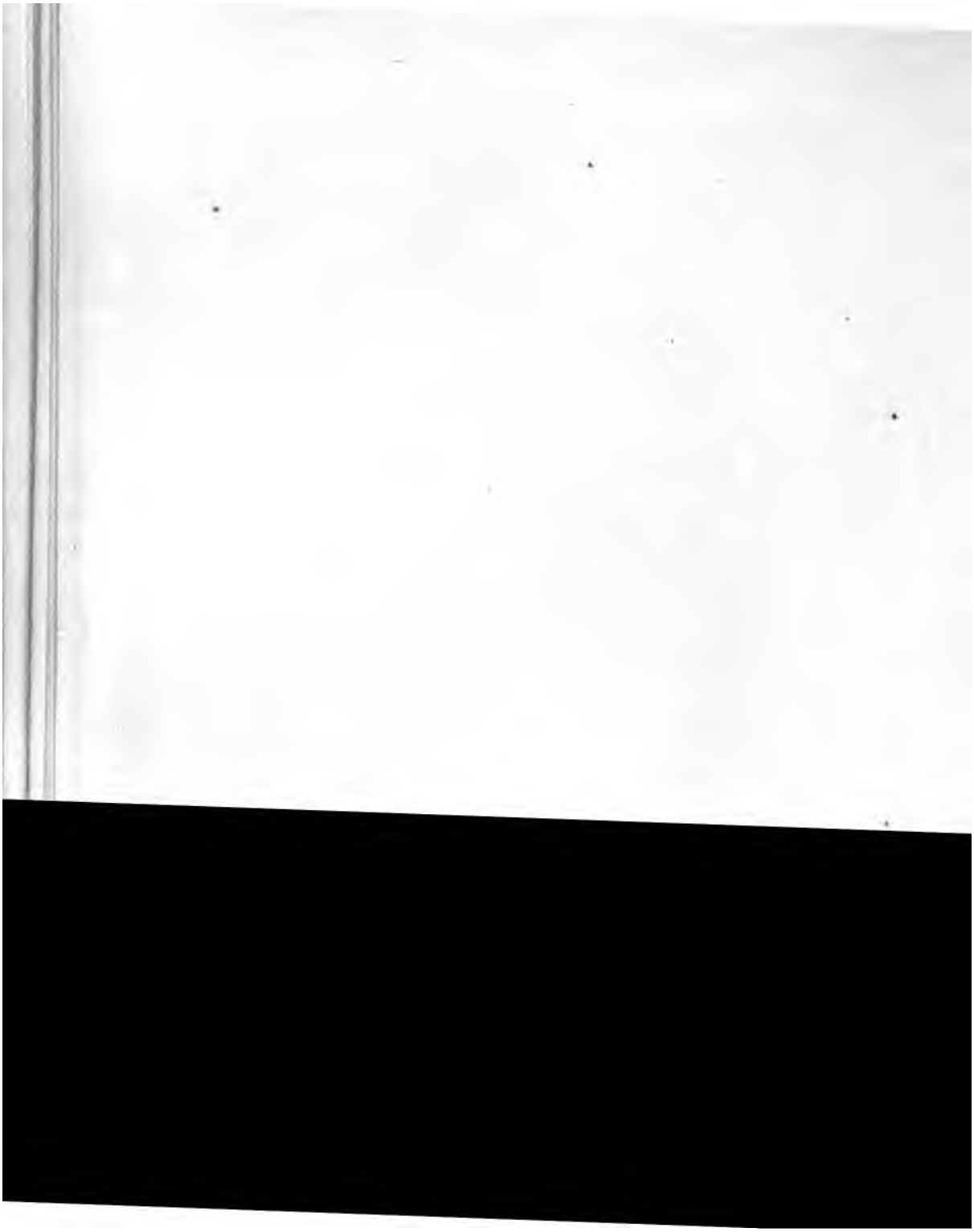

PLATE XVI.

Fig. 2

Fig. 1

PLATE XVII.

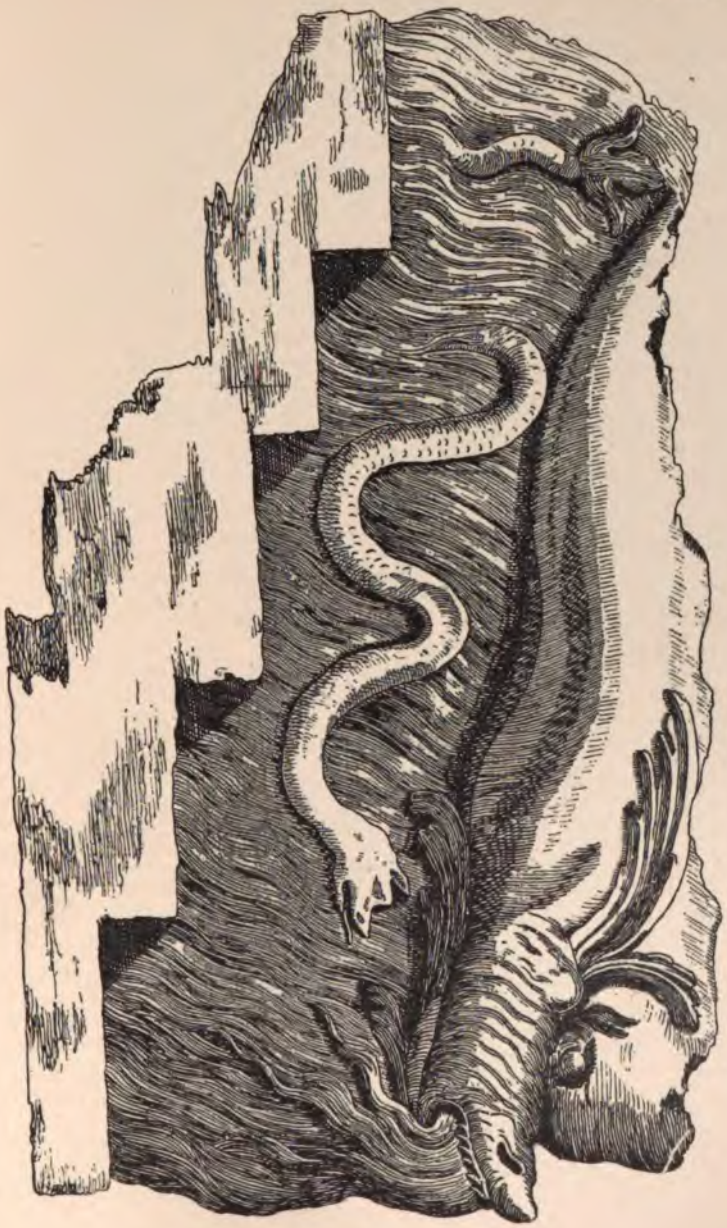

PLATE XVIII.

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PLATE XIX.

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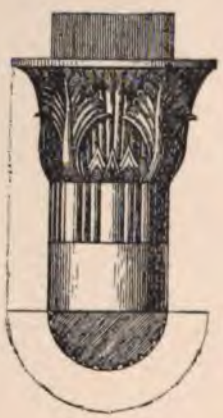

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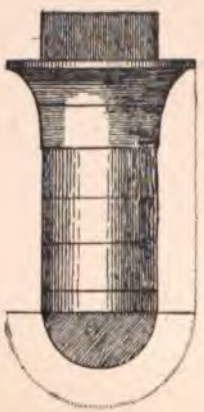


Fig. 4.

Fig. 5.

PLATE XX.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

PLATE XXI.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 7.

Fig. 4.

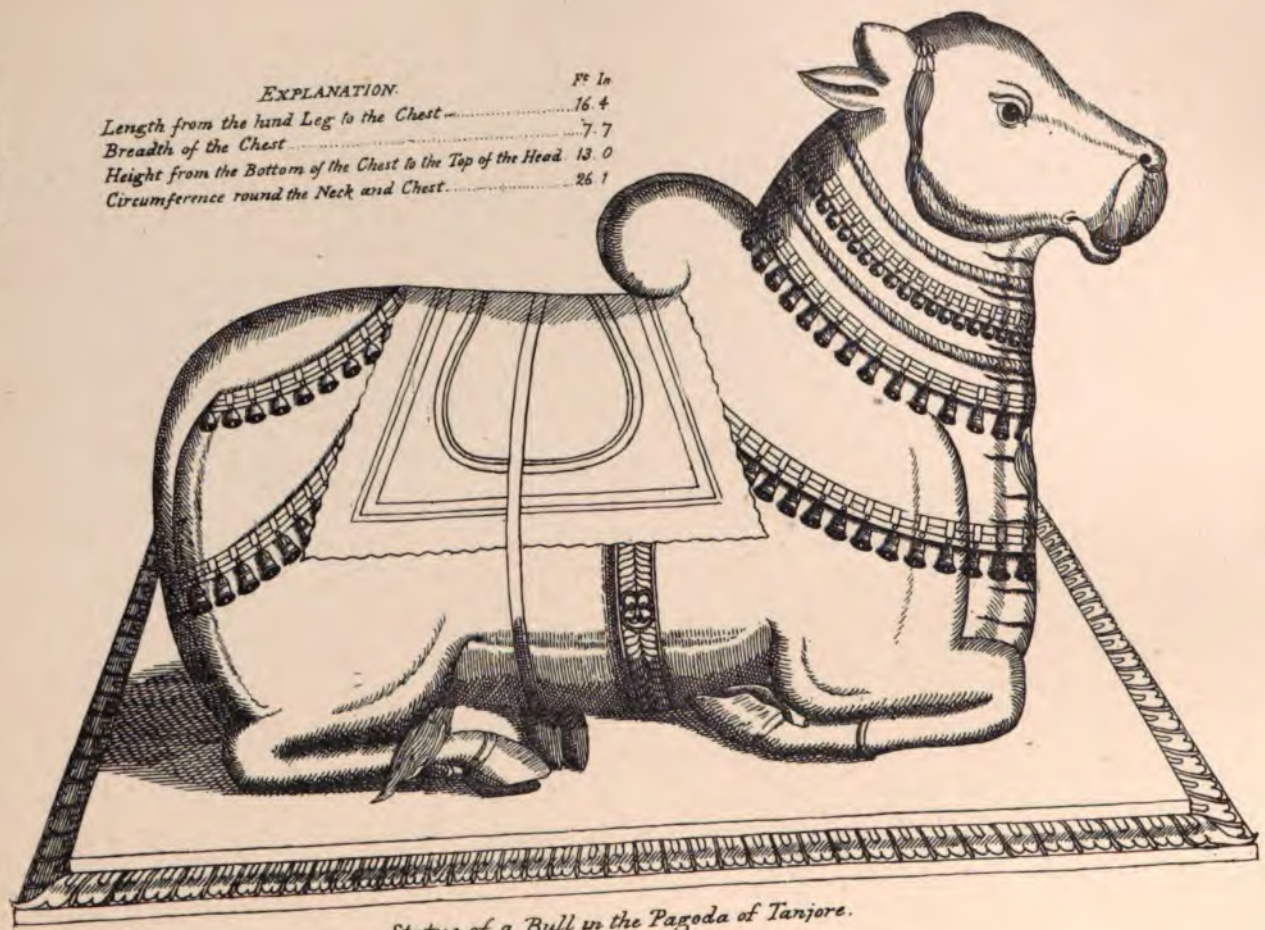
Fig. 5.

Fig. 3.

Fig. 6.

PLATE XXII.

EXPLANATION.	Ft	In
Length from the hind Leg to the Chest	16.	4
Breadth of the Chest	7.	7
Height from the Bottom of the Chest to the Top of the Head	13.	0
Circumference round the Neck and Chest	26.	1



Statue of a Bull in the Pagoda of Tanjore.

PLATE XXIV.

Sculpture from the Island of Elephanta, near Bombay — Dimensions 2 feet 6 inches by 1 foot 6 inches

Fig. 1.

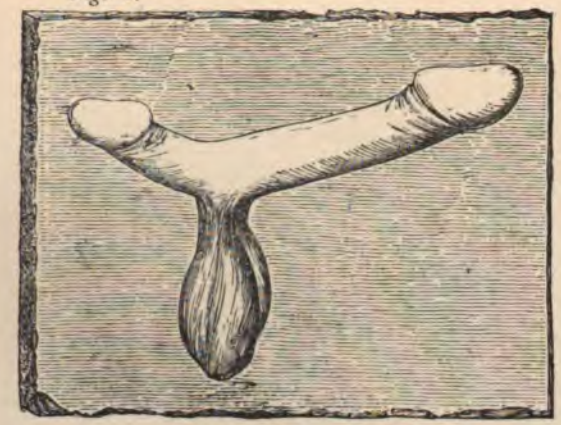


Fig. 2

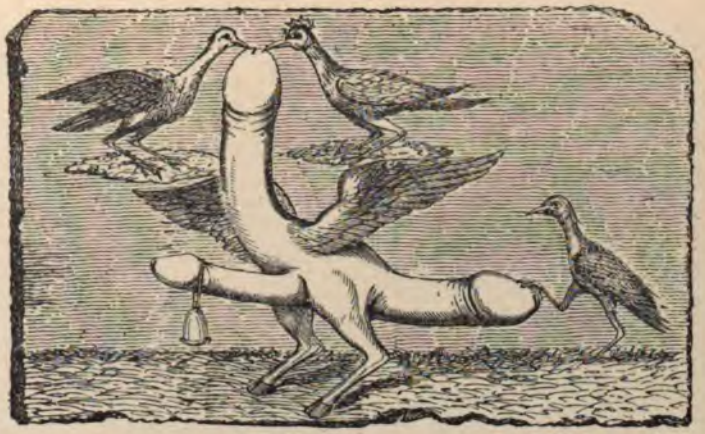
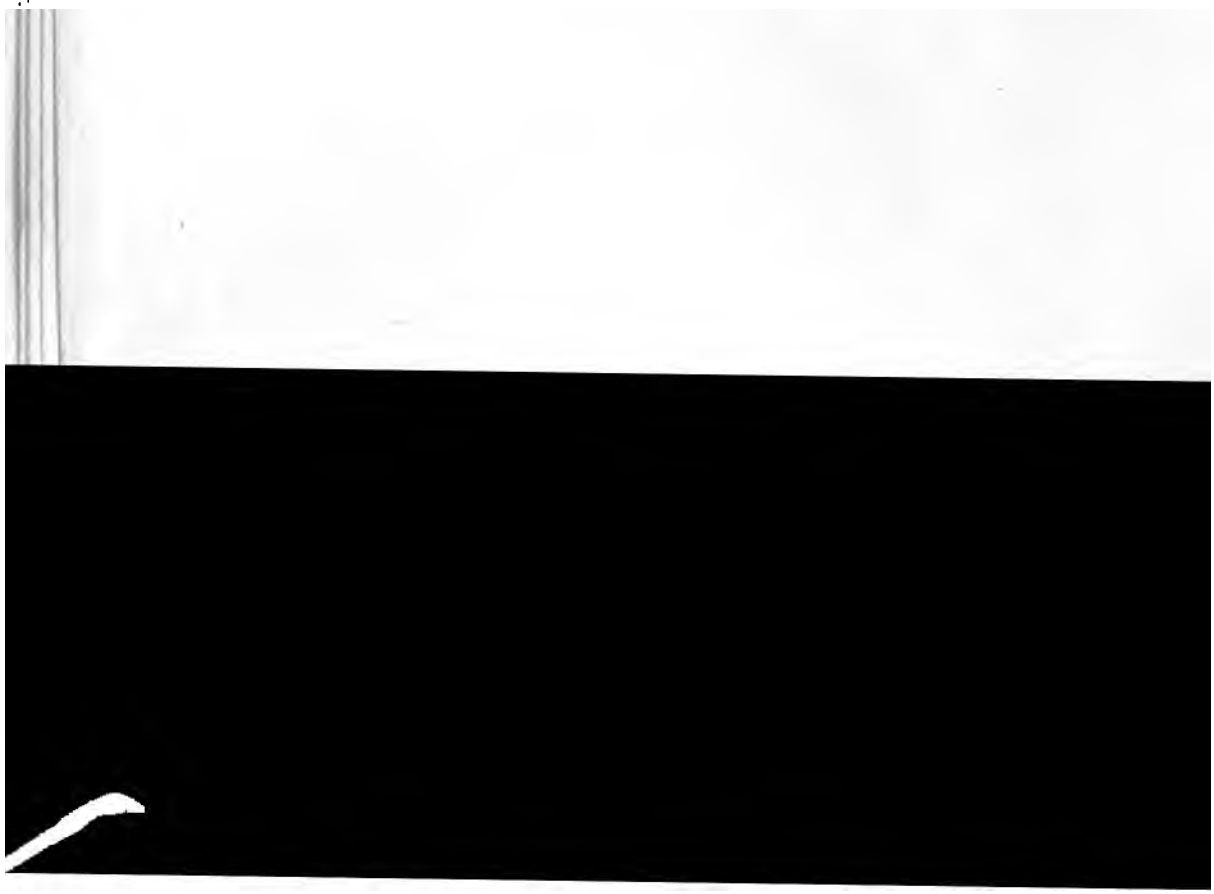


Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

PLATE XXV.



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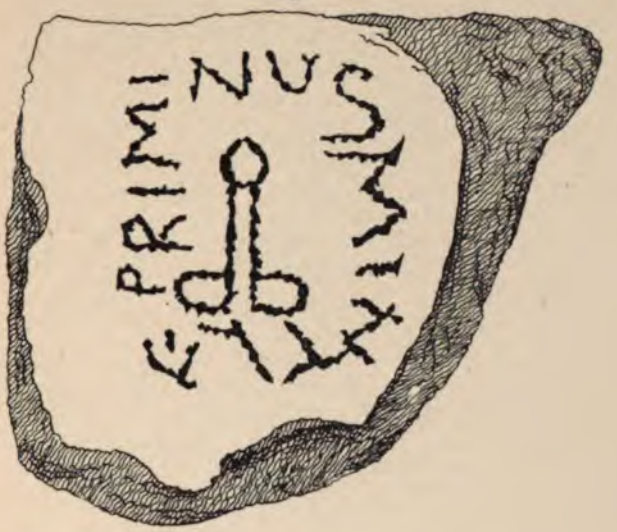

Fig 2

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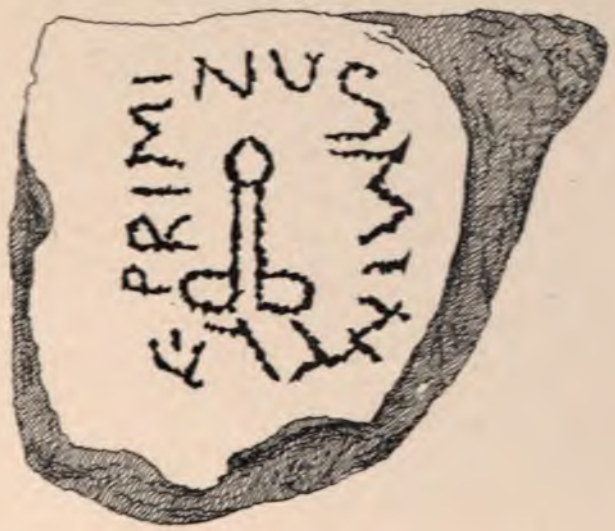

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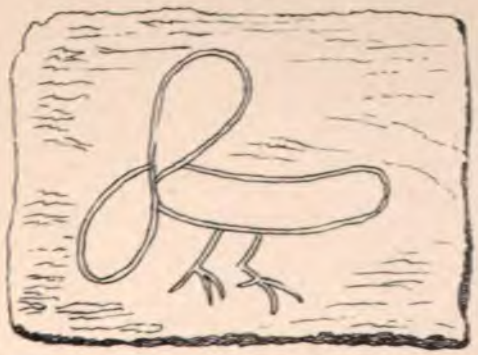

PLATE XXIX.

Fig. 1.

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Fig. 1.

Fig. 3.

Fig 4.

Fig. 2.

PLATE XXX.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

PLATE XXXI.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

Fig. 5.

Fig. 6.

PLATE XXXI.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

Fig. 5.

Fig. 6.

PLATE XXXII

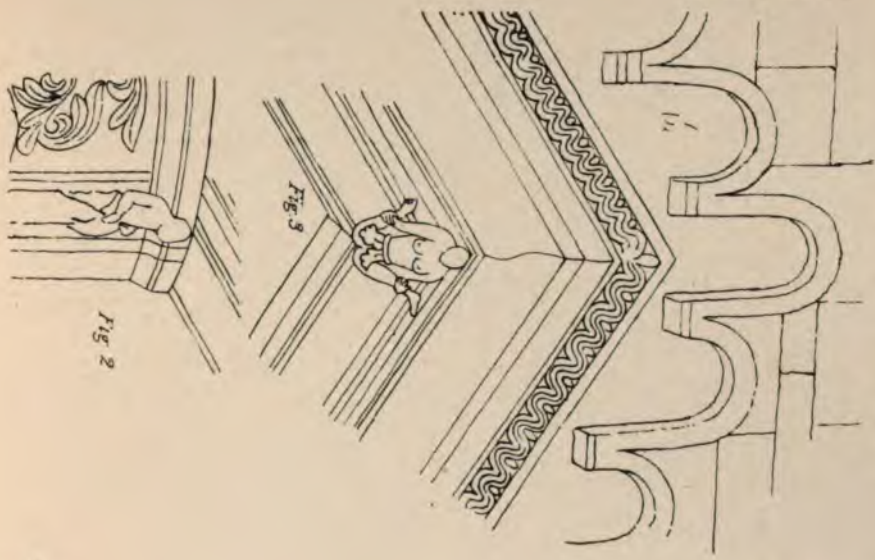


Fig 2

Fig 3

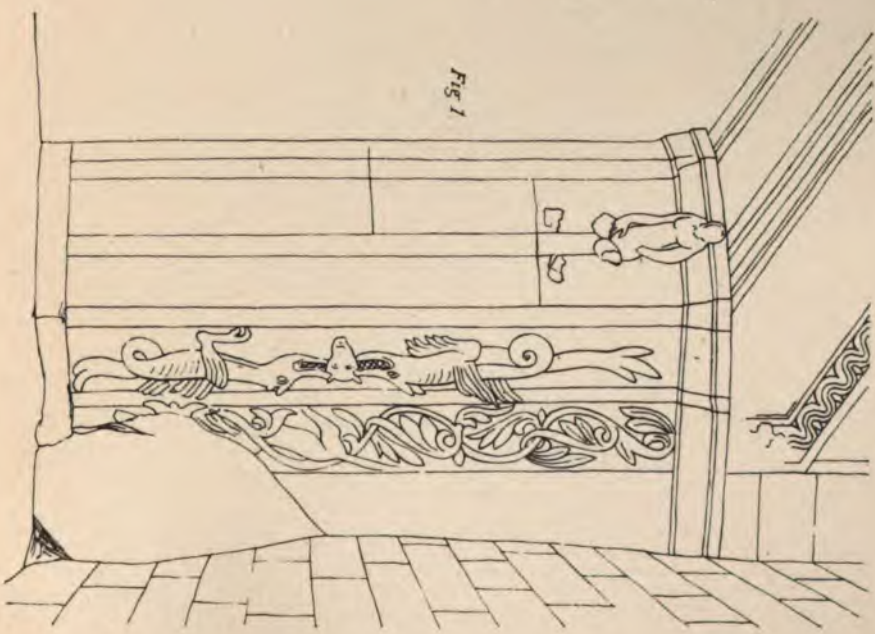


Fig 1

PLATE XXXII

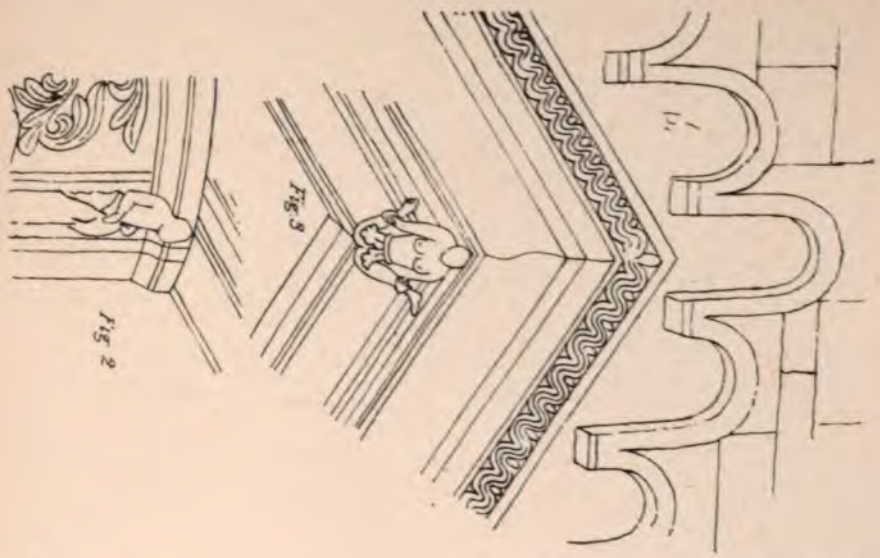


Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Fig. 1

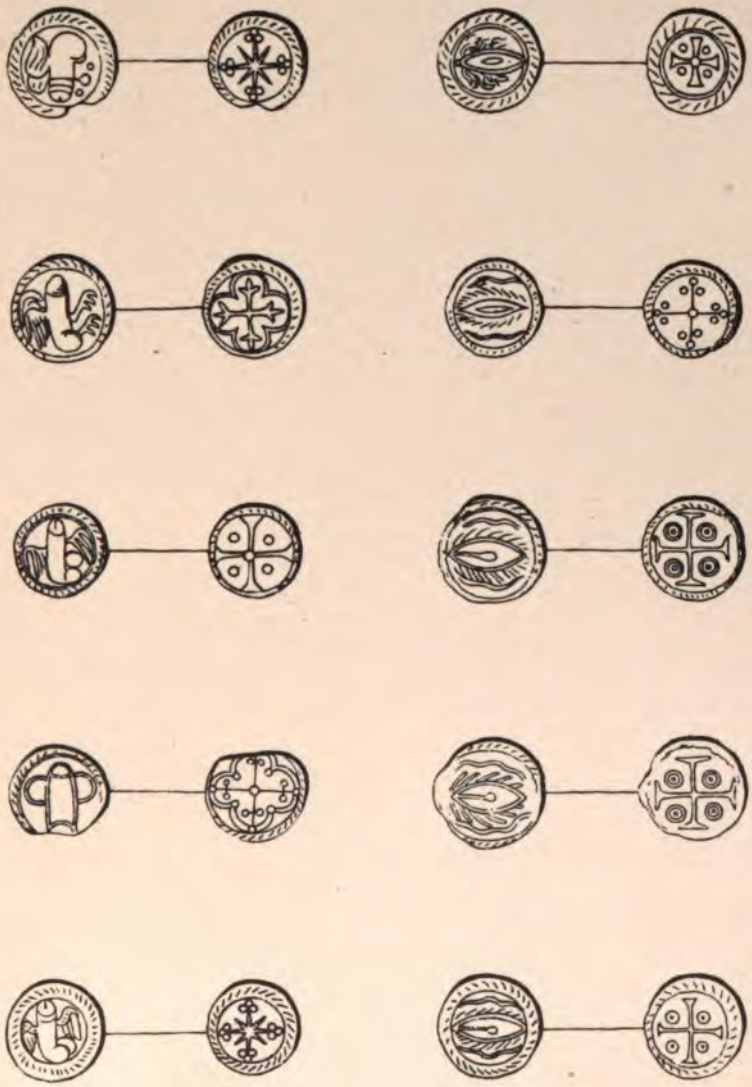


PLATE XXXIV.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 5.

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

Fig. 5.

PLATE XXXVI.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

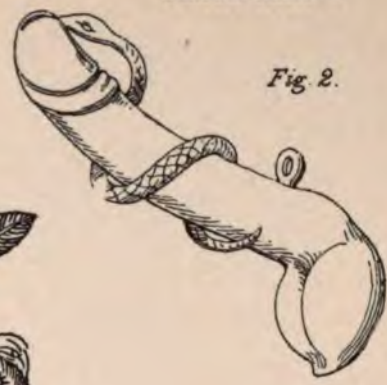


Fig 5

Fig. 4

Fig. 3.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

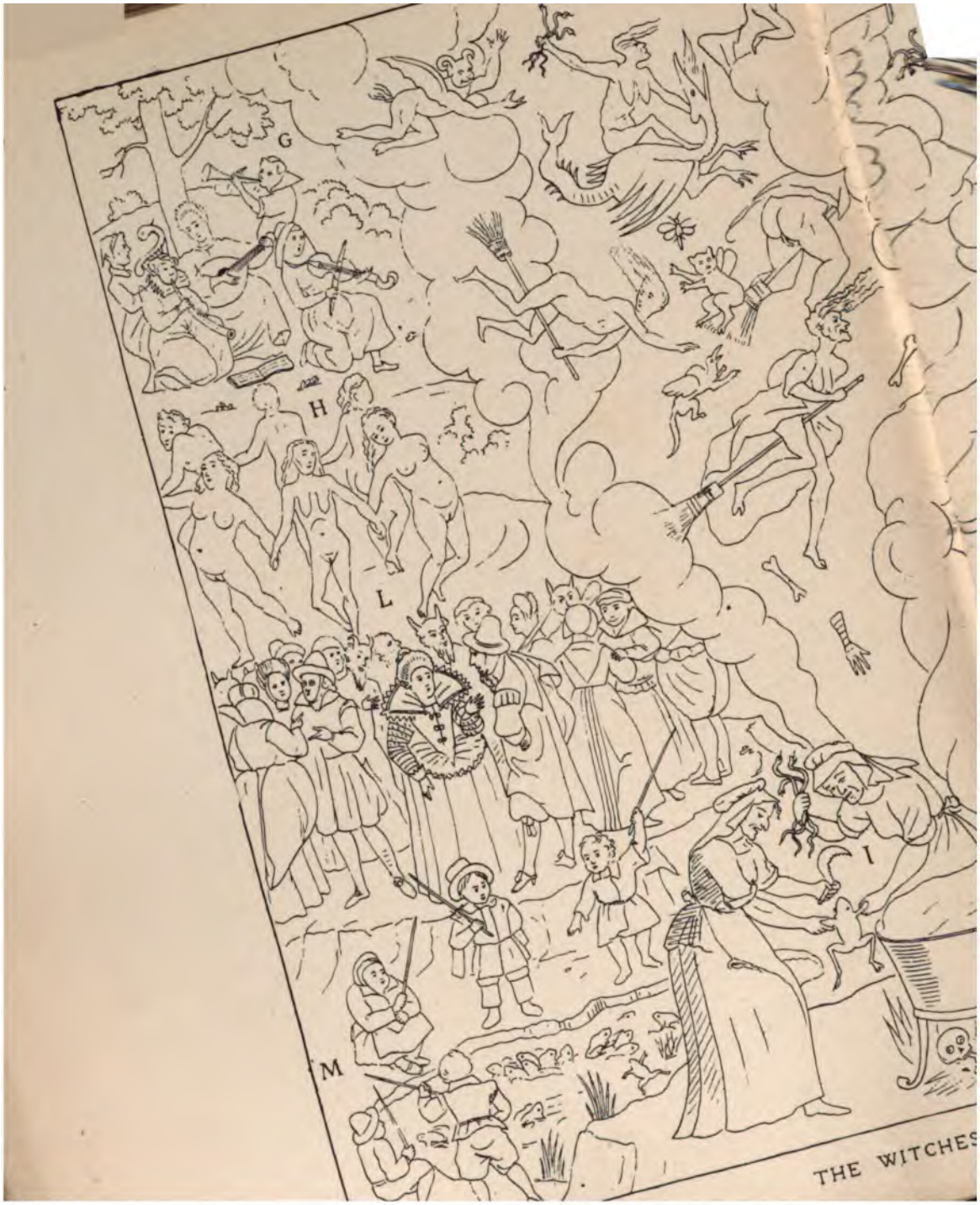
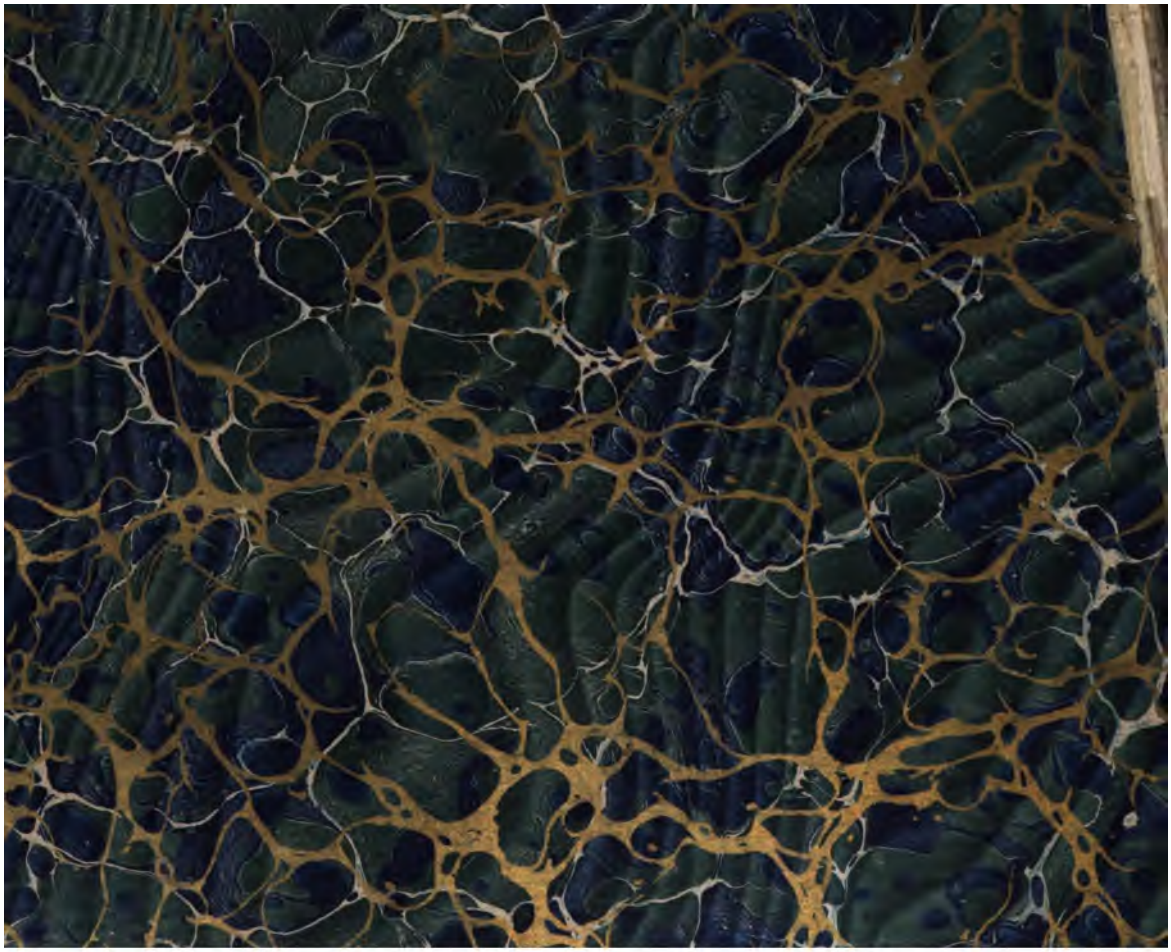
PLATE XXXIX

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.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